THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 150 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MAY 4, 1940 NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

THE ALLIED FORCES WHICH LANDED NORTH and south of Trondheim in an attempt to pinch off the German garrison in that key city are now themselves between the pincers. Immensely aided by their superiority in the air, the Germans advanced rapidly through the long parallel valleys which lead north from Oslo without any serious check until they approached the vital railroad junctions of Stoeren and Dombaas. Meanwhile a British advance guard moving southward toward Trondheim was driven back at Steinkjer by a German column aided by warships operating in the Trondheim Fjord. At the time of writing the Nazi offensive is continuing, but at a slower pace as new Allied troops are reaching the front in large numbers. In London the government has been attacked for dispatching its expeditionary force with inadequate equipment. It is asserted in reply that it was necessary to land some troops hastily to cover the unloading of the main body. This task has been rendered difficult and dangerous by constant German attacks from the air, which have laid Namsos and other ports in ruins. The Allies have been handicapped by lack of air bases, but these are now being improvised, and German command of the air is no longer complete. It is clear, however, that the Germans have been able strongly to reinforce their army in Norway and at present have an edge both in men and material.

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VON RIBBENTROP'S ATTEMPT TO DEFEND the Nazi invasion of Norway by accusing the British of harboring similar designs has hardly improved Germany's moral position before the world. There is considerable internal evidence that the documents presented in the White Book are forgeries. George Fielding Eliot, for example, has pointed out twelve ways in which the alleged "operation orders," said to have been found on a British officer captured near Lillehammer, depart from the style stipulated in the Field Service Regulations of the British Army. But establishment of the authenticity of the documents would not greatly aid the Nazi case. For while von Ribbentrop accuses the British of having planned by April 6 and 7 to send troops to Norway, it is evident that the German soldiers who were landed at Narvik were actually under way several days before this. The German charge, moreover, appears to fall down completely before the fact that a week actually elapsed after the German invasion before the first British troops were landed, and that these landings bore all the earmarks of hasty and inadequate preparation. Nothing is said in the White Book, it may be added, about a British threat to Denmark; yet the Nazi occupation of Denmark was obviously part of the same prearranged plan as the seizure of Norway.

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JUSTICE MURPHY HAS MADE A FINE DEBUT on the Supreme Court by handing down two decisions upholding the right to picket. Only Justice McReynolds, last of the old tories, dissented. The Murphy decisions follow the historic precedent established in Justice Brandeis's decision in the Senn case. Brandeis held that picketing is a form of free speech and protected as such under the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Murphy's first decision invalidated an Alabama anti-picketing law; his second, a Shasta County, California, anti-picketing ordinance. "Free discussion concerning the conditions in industry and the causes of labor disputes," Justice Murphy said for the court, "appears to us indispensable to the effective and intelligent use of the processes of popular government to shape the destiny of modern industrial society." The Shasta County decision will be a blow to the Associated Farmers, front in overalls for the Pacific Coast's big banks and railroads, which has sponsored anti-picketing legislation up and down the West Coast. Given a continuation of the court's present liberal phase, gentlemen in high hats will soon be gratefully exercising their right to picket—the Supreme Court.

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HEARST HAS BEEN FRIENDLIER TO HITLER than has any other American publisher. That may or may not be the explanation of the incident to which Senator Pittman called attention on the floor of the Senate last week. The Senator made a speech on April 16 at Reno,

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1897.

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Nevada. On April 24 William K. Hutchinson, chief Washington correspondent for the Hearst chain, published a distorted version of the speech, presenting it as if it were an interview given him that day by Senator Pittman. Hutchinson quoted Pittman as saying that the Allies must drive the German army out of Norway within thirty days or face the inevitable loss of the war. Since the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was involved, the supposed statement created a situation here and abroad, and no doubt was read with comfort in Berlin. But the text of the speech actually made by Senator Pittman is quite different from the "interview" published in the Hearst press. Pittman said that if the Allies failed to drive the Germans out of Norway, "Sweden would inevitably be next." If Sweden were also conquered, the Balkans would probably be frightened into submission to Hitler. In that event, he said, victory by France and Britain "would be very difficult, if not impossible." But he went on to say that he was "of the opinion that the German forces will be driven out of Norway within thirty days." This was left out of the Hearst story. No doubt it was also omitted in the *Völkischer Beobachter.*

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ALTHOUGH BUSINESS INDICES ARE ONLY slightly higher than last year, the first quarter of 1940 was unusually profitable for American industry. The first 250 corporations to report for the quarter had combined earnings 50 per cent above those of the same period of 1939. Excluding the American Telephone and Telegraph—which is little affected by short-term fluctuations—the gain was 60 per cent. In part, this showing is due to direct and indirect effects of the war. Airplane manufactures are not included in the summary, but it is known that the export of planes showed a 225 per cent increase over the corresponding period of 1939. Exports as a whole were up 50 per cent, and were the largest for any quarter since 1930. But the profit gains were not confined to the war industries. General Motors Corporation had the second-best first quarter in its history. The railroads showed a 124 per cent increase in earnings, and the oil companies—despite reduced exports—quadrupled their profits of a year ago. In contrast to this sharp rise in industrial earnings, total wages and salaries for the period rose only 4½ per cent. Such a lag in wages, which is typical of boom periods, invariably lays the basis for future difficulties.

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THE DECLINE IN STEEL OUTPUT WHICH SET in at the beginning of the year seems to have been halted, and the industry is now maintaining an operations rate of around 60 per cent of capacity. This compares unfavorably with the near 100 per cent figure of late 1939, but nevertheless steel companies have experienced quite a profitable first quarter. Stockholders of Bethlehem Steel, which on an average production equal to 87.4 per cent from January to March earned profits of over $3 per share, certainly have every reason for feeling confident. But although its prospects are far brighter than a year ago, the steel industry has recently experienced a short though sharp attack of price-cutting jitters. On April 12 United States Steel announced a reduction in flat rolled-steel quotations of $4 a ton in order to meet competition by independents who had offered price concessions in hope of obtaining a large order from an automobile manufacturer. Steel price wars in recent years have all started in sheets, for which the motor industry is the chief outlet, and in steel circles there is sometimes dark talk of the big automobile companies misusing their strong bargaining positions. A better explanation may be that competition in this line has been fostered by the reduction in sheet costs following the widespread installation of continuous rolling mills. If, as a result, profit margins on this product are unduly high, some mills are naturally tempted to cut prices in order to maintain volume. On any theory of private enterprise, however, this is the correct consequence of technological progress. We regret, therefore, that in this instance the industry's united front has been restored and the cuts rescinded.

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BRITAIN'S WAR BUDGET FOR THE PRESENT fiscal year is well calculated to intensify the isolationist sentiments which, *pace* the *Daily Worker,* are rampant in Wall Street. But in London the criticism made by members of all parties is that it provides for too little expenditure and not sufficiently severe taxation. Germany, it is being said, is spending at least a third more than Britain, and if the Nazis are to be defeated, the government must be ready to implement the national effort with at least as great a proportion of the country's resources. In some quarters disappointment was expressed at Chancellor of the Exchequer Simon's refusal to adopt J. M. Keynes's scheme for compulsory savings, which is discussed in a review on page 571. The budget, however, is designed to reduce general consumption and promote savings which are needed to finance the huge war loans which it foreshadowed. Taxes on liquor, beer, tobacco, and matches, already steep, are hoisted still farther. Postage, telephone, and telegraph charges are sharply increased. Further, an entirely new tax on wholesale transactions, except in food and certain other articles already subject to heavy imposts, is to come into effect shortly. All these indirect levies will fall with particular severity on people with small incomes. Direct taxes were jumped last September, and income-tax rates have not been raised farther. But the level at which surtax becomes payable has been lowered from $8,000 to $6,000. The chief innovation affecting the higher brackets, how-

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ever, is a prohibition of corporation melon-cutting and a ban on dividend increases. This provision is calculated to add to the liquid resources of firms profiting from war contracts, and their enforced savings are intended to flow into war loans.

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FORTUNATELY THE SENATE HAS RESTORED the funds, lopped off by the House, for continuance of the Division of Economic Research of the National Labor Relations Board, but the vicious drive against David Saposs, who directs the division, is still going on. Mr. Saposs is charged with being a Communist. The irony is that he is so far from having any sympathy with the Communist Party that he has long been anathema to that group; so much so that the party and its fellow-travelers have done their worst to discredit and get rid of a man whose scholarship and integrity and competence are beyond question. Mr. Saposs therefore has the distinction of being hated by both the N. A. M. and the Communist Party. He also has the distinction of having contributed enormously to the usefulness of the board; the careful work done in his division has undoubtedly played a large part in bringing about that long line of victories the board has won in the Supreme Court. Neither his colleagues nor the public can afford to lose his expert services.

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WHILE THE ATTACK ON BERTRAND RUSSELL has revealed very little about his real views, it has been illuminating in other ways. Take the performance of the press. The record, we are glad to report, is not all black. The tory *Herald Tribune,* which takes civil liberty seriously, sharply criticized the McGeehan verdict. So did the liberal *Post* and the unpredictable *Daily News,* which commented late but vigorously. There, however, the good news ends. The Hearst papers—the *Journal-American* and the *Mirror*—formed the journalistic spearhead of the attack on Russell, using more than their customary quota of large caps. The more dignified *Sun* echoed the same view in better-modulated sentences. And the once-liberal Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram* could only see "a lack of higher educational tact" in the whole affair. It remained for the *Times,* however, to provide the element of suspense. The attack on Russell began early in March; the McGeehan decision came on March 30. The *Times* talked of many things, editorially, but not of Bertrand Russell. The first reference to the case occurred in an editorial on another subject, and it was non-committal. Finally, on April 20, when most people had abandoned all hope, the *Times* broke its silence by publishing an editorial called The Russell Case. It was a caricature even of a *Times* editorial. The McGeehan verdict, said the *Times,* was "dangerously broad"; but (on the other hand) "Mr. Russell himself should have had the wisdom to withdraw from the appointment as soon as its harmful results were apparent." To which Mr. Russell has now replied, in words equally calm but pointed, that "however wise such an action might have been from a personal point of view, it would also, in my judgment, have been cowardly and selfish." The sentence, inadvertently, reads like a description of the *Times's* policy in the Russell case.

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THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD HAS WON its most significant victory in the settlement of the seventeen-months-old strike against Hearst in Chicago. No strike in the history of white-collar labor approaches this one in duration or bitterness. Starting late in 1938 as a protest against the discharge of several Guild members, it soon became symbolic of labor's struggle against Hearst's feudal policies. The Guild's fight was made incomparably more difficult when Hearst consolidated his two Chicago papers last August. It was also hampered by a virtual boycott of news regarding the strike by the remaining Chicago newspapers. In view of the handicaps under which the Guild labored, the settlement is an amazingly good one. The Chicago *Evening American* has agreed to reinstate 115 of the 167 remaining active strikers, including eight Guild members whose dismissal prior to the strike was a factor in bringing about the struggle. Included also are some of the employees of the defunct *Herald-Examiner.* The 52 strikers who have not been reinstated are to receive a total of $24,000 in severance pay. The new contract provides some salary increases and recognition of the Guild as partial bargaining agent pending an election to determine the sole agent.

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SINCE MR. SHRIDHARANI SUBMITTED THE article on India which appears elsewhere in this issue Gandhi is reported to have decided that the time is not ripe for a civil-disobedience campaign, that he will do nothing to embarrass the British "at a time when it is a question of life and death for them." It is possible that Gandhi has suddenly been reconverted to a policy of inaction, despite the steps just taken, with his approval, by the Working Committee of the Congress to prepare the people of India for non-violent direct action, or *satyagraha.* But we are skeptical. We recall the role of the British censors in India a year or so ago when Gandhi was quoted as saying, in effect: "If ever there was a righteous war, it would be a war against Hitler." All that the censors omitted was Gandhi's conclusion: "But there never was a righteous war." There may well be, as Mr. Shridharani suggests, a delay of some months in launching *satyagraha,* but unless all signs are strangely misleading he would appear to be right in reporting that the die is cast and that civil disobedience is on the way.

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Mussolini's Margin

MUSSOLINI'S campaign to sell participation in the war to the Italian people is now in full blast. Day after day speeches and editorials harp on the inevitability of Italy's taking part in the battle. Continued neutrality, declared the newspaper *Stampa* on April 28, would mean renunciation "of the role of a great imperial power"; Italy, said Count Grandi last week, "cannot be on the margin of this conflict between peoples."

The well-known distaste of multitudes of Italians for fighting German battles is being countered by emphasis on the point that the war is bound to result in a wide redistribution of territory and influence, and should Italy stay too long on the fence, it might fail to collect. As Blackshirt in the *Resto del Carlino* puts it: "If we enter the conflict, we shall not fight for Germany but at the side of Germany, just as Germany is not fighting for Italy but for its own sacred national interests." There is no mention of entering the war on the Allied side except for scornful repudiation of supposed French hopes of another 1915. Nor is this suprising, for the spoils Il Duce has in view are, to a considerable extent, segments of the British and French empires. Moreover, Mussolini is no doubt anxious about the effect of a Nazi overthrow on the fortunes of his own regime. Dictators hang together, and it would be unwise for one to assist at the execution of another.

This does not mean, of course, that the Italian government would run to the rescue of a Germany that looked like being defeated. Its increasing bellicosity suggests a conviction that the odds on a Nazi victory have risen sharply. Perhaps if the invasion of Norway had proceeded as smoothly as did the occupation of Denmark, and if Germany were now safely intrenched in the Scandinavian Peninsula ready to loose its aerial armada against Britain, Mussolini would have burned his bridges already. But he must be sure not merely of an Allied defeat but of a quick decision, for Italy is ill-placed to carry the burden of a prolonged war.

In view of this time element, Italy's emergence as a full-fledged belligerent may be postponed. But complete inaction is eroding to prestige, particularly after recent Roman bravura, and the possibility of an Italian attempt to stake out a new claim by undertaking a war within a war must be considered. Stalin's success in just such an adventure in Finland is an encouraging example. If Mussolini should follow suit, the likeliest victim is Yugoslavia, whose Dalmatian coast has long been coveted in Rome. Yugoslavia has no guaranty from the Allied powers, and in any case is geographically cut off from effective military assistance. Italy could pick a quarrel with this weaker neighbor with a fair prospect of not becoming involved in the larger and more dangerous conflict. It is an adventure which Hitler might well bless, while officially adopting a disinterested attitude. Germany has been getting a large volume of goods from Yugoslavia, but Allied economic influence is sufficiently strong there to prevent complete Nazi domination. The seizure of the country by its axis partner would be a useful service, and one calculated to insure the subservience of the other Balkan countries.

News from Belgrade suggests that Yugoslavia fears a coup of some kind. It has recently taken strong measures against its fifth columnists, who have connections in Rome as well as in Berlin, and it has protested against violations of its territory by German and Italian aircraft. The most sinister development, however, is the alleged distribution by Slovenian Nationalists of a manifesto attacking Germany and Italy and demanding the "restitution" to Yugoslavia of Trieste, Istria, and Carinthia. The world first received news of this document when it was made the subject of an indignant article in the *Giornale d'Italia.* Almost immediately an anti-Yugoslav demonstration was staged in Florence with the open approval of the authorities, while the Italian press broke out in a rash of warnings against Allied "intriguers" in the Balkans. The Slovenian manifesto may or may not be authentic and in either case may seem too insignificant to cause a serious rupture between two countries. But if Mussolini hesitates to settle accounts with Yugoslavia, it will not be for want of a strong pretext—that did not deter him in the case of Albania. It will be rather because he knows such a war would be more than a walkover and considers that the risk of starting a general conflagration in the Balkans is too great. We may not have to wait long for his decision, which will be made with one eye on Norway, the other on Moscow.

The "Front" on Trial

THE Christian Front trial opened four weeks ago with spectacular advance notices. It is proceeding like a slow-motion drama with the principal characters unaccountably missing. In some ways the script seems to have been edited by the Legion of Decency; only twice has the name of Charles E. Coughlin evaded the censors. If the story unfolded thus far seems fragmentary and anti-climactic, it nevertheless contains some lurid episodes and some memorable lines. The real question is what the story will ultimately reveal about anti-democratic legions in America. That has not been answered.

The bulk of the prosecution's case, as presented to date, rests on the testimony of informers employed by the FBI and a confession by one of the defendants. While details may be apocryphal, the prosecution's case is a plausible one. The defendants, it is asserted, were the fighting corps of the Christian Front. Their ranks

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included skilled revolutionists, fascist model, and small-time imitators. They boasted of valuable links in high places generally and in the National Guard particularly. They stole ammunition from armories. They manufactured bombs in secret hideaways. And they talked incessantly of *"Der Tag."* It was wild and grandiose talk, but it had some immediate relevance. Among other things, it is charged, they planned to bomb the offices of Communist and so-called Communist organizations. They anticipated that the Communists would fight back. In either case the Christian Front was prepared to save the republic from "communism."

The plot is a replica of events that have happened elsewhere in our time. Only the naive will be astonished that men talked this way and planned these acts. But assuming that the burden of the testimony thus far is valid, what is its large significance? A small group of men were conspiring to commit acts of violence and to initiate a reign of disorder. They were also dreaming of wholesale insurrection. But did they represent a "clear and present danger" to democratic survival? As sixteen men they did not. Even as sixteen well-armed, audacious men they did not. As such they were political gangsters, and we have adequate laws for dealing with gangsterism. What remains to be shown is that the government was justified in holding a treason trial, as well as in prosecuting them on specific counts. The most important clue is the belated testimony that Coughlin himself appointed John F. Cassidy, one of the principal defendants, to his Christian Front posts. This fact is not news; its introduction at the trial is. Will the clue be followed? Were there other higher-ups involved? To what degree has the Front penetrated the National Guard? One National Guard officer is among the defendants; what about the others who, one witness has said, were covertly aiding? Without knowing the answer to these questions we cannot answer the basic one: How dangerous is the Christian Front? And without the answer to that question we cannot determine what counter-measures are necessary.

In this connection the role of the FBI itself deserves exploration. Obviously this plot did not originate in a G-man's mind, as the defense has hinted. But it also seems clear that the FBI agents did a good deal to encourage the plotters; one admittedly bought them ammunition with FBI funds. The line between espionage and provocation is always obscure. Provocation is plainly intolerable. Do we want espionage of that sort at all, with G-men filtering into the ranks of every organization suspected by the FBI? The "Trojan horse" is a powerful weapon, and the fascists know how to use it. But there is a parallel danger, as Mrs. Roosevelt warned last week, that "in our anxiety we may do away with some of our basic liberties." Large-scale infiltration of FBI men into private organizations may be one of the methods of self-destruction.

Democracy is walking a tight rope. In dealing with its enemies it must truly appraise their strength; exposure is a form of defense. The value of the Christian Front trial lies in the picture it offers of democracy's foes. The greatest danger is that it will intensify hysteria and thereby conceal the truth we need to know. The government has made broad and sweeping charges, but the case is being prosecuted along narrow lines. And its net result may be to make martyrs of a band of terrorists while their more dangerous leaders remain hidden.

The Ford Reich

Labor-union organizations are the worst thing that ever struck the earth because they take away a man's independence.—*From "Ford Gives Viewpoint on Labor," a booklet distributed in Ford plants.*

IN JUNE, 1937, "Fats" Perry, then a trusted employee of the Ford plant at Dallas, was assigned to special work of a confidential, and strenuous, nature. On the twenty-third he informed his superiors that two C. I. O. organizers were on their way from Kansas City. A few hours later two representatives of the United Automobile Workers of America arrived in town and went to a drugstore near the plant frequented by Ford workers. Several Ford workers introduced themselves. Three of them were stool pigeons, and one hurried across to the plant to report the presence of the organizers. Another sought out "Fats" Perry. "I walked over there," Perry later testified at the Labor Board hearing, "and one of the boys says, 'There they stand back there' . . . I heard them say something about Kansas City. I walked up and listened a few minutes . . . and I said, 'Who was talking so much about Kansas City?' He says, 'I was talking to some of my friends.' I said, 'You are a union organizer, aren't you?' He said, 'If you call it that.' He says, 'I am trying to line some of the boys up.' I said, 'You line up out of that door before I throw you out.' "

One of the organizers, after being knocked down by the 226-pound "Fats" Perry, managed to escape. The other, a small man, was knocked down and carried out to a waiting car. "An unidentified man in a Ford Motor Company official car," according to the NLRB trial examiner's report, "drove up and told the group who had Guempelein [the organizer] to take him down by the schoolhouse and 'beat hell out of him.' " They did.

Perry had a squad of beefy fellows, most of whom had been members of the Ford plant's champion tug-of-war team. They were paid regular wages but assigned special work. They kept their ears open. They "made the rounds of cafes, domino parlors, barber shops, and similar places in the outlying districts of Dallas." They were equipped with "persuaders"—blackjacks, pistols, whips, lengths of hose. When not in use these "persuaders,"

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according to the trial examiner, were kept in the desk of the man who was head of the Ford service department in Dallas. The word "service" has interesting connotations in a Ford plant.

On July 3 Baron De Louis, the U. A. W. A. organizer from Kansas City who had managed to escape from Perry and his helpers in the encounter of June 23, returned to Dallas. Through a friend in Dallas, De Louis arranged an appointment with a Ford employee. The employee at once notified the Ford office of the meeting. Perry's service squad was on hand and administered another beating. The squad was kept very busy that July. "On one occasion in mid-July," according to the trial examiner's findings, "Rutland [general body foreman at the Dallas plant] received word that two of the company employees had made some pro-union remarks while on a fishing trip. . . . He arranged to have them kidnapped by the strong-arm squad, taken into the country, questioned, and dealt with by that group." On another occasion in July several men suspected of union sympathies were ambushed at the home of a stool pigeon and beaten. On July 10 every member of the "service" squad was given a picture of W. J. Houston, Dallas attorney, who had acted for the U. A. W. A. An organized search for him was begun. He was located in a drugstore, where he was having a cup of coffee with a friend. One member of the group engaged him in conversation while the others assembled at the soda fountain. As Houston started to leave, he was attacked, knocked down, and severely beaten before police arrived. "Fats" Perry testified that Rutland was pleased. "He [Rutland] said, 'I heard you picked up Mr. Houston down there.' I said, 'Yes, they picked him up and like to beat him to death.' He said, 'That is a good job then. Maybe that will learn him to listen.'"

The service squad was thorough. On August 2 an assistant foreman from the Kansas City plant was in Dallas on a vacation trip. He visited the Dallas office. When he came out, he found Perry and his subordinates waiting for him. They took him for a ride. He succeeded in proving that he was a foreman and anti-union. Perry then drove him back to town, "shook hands . . . and wished him well." A traveling salesman who had expressed sympathy for the union had a brother, an identical twin. He was beaten so badly on August 4, 1937, that he never recovered his health. He died of pneumonia a few months later. The squad did not confine its activities to the automobile industry. On August 6 or 7, according to the findings of the trial examiner, the general body foreman at Dallas called Perry in and told him "he had received a call from the City Hall police station, telling him that there was a union organizer in town who had been giving them trouble. . . ." The organizer was George Baer, an official of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers. Some of the boys picked Baer up outside a millinery house, knocked him unconscious, took him to the outskirts of town, and beat him up. When Perry arrived, "they greeted Perry with the statement that Baer was . . . 'in pretty bad shape. You better come look at him.' . . . They found Earl Johnson [one of the "service" men] sitting on Baer on the floor of the car, with one knee in his stomach and the other on his head. Baer's eye had been knocked out of its socket. Blood covered his face, his nose was smashed, his head was bleeding, and his teeth had been knocked out." Perry testified, "I said, 'Well, you better get rid of him. You better put him somewhere.' And Buster Bevill suggested, 'Let's take the son of a bitch down and throw him in the river.' I said, 'No, we couldn't do that.' So we drove down the highway a ways and drove up in a field and throwed him out."

These were some of the methods used by the Ford Motor Company to encourage workers in Dallas to do their bargaining individually. The facts set down here are taken from the record of hearings before the National Labor Relations Board of the Sixteenth Region.

"American White Paper"

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE other night at a dinner in New York the chairman, Jay Allen, was admiringly described by a speaker as "the foreign correspondents' foreign correspondent." None of their fellow-journalists, I am afraid, will call Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner "the Washington correspondents' Washington correspondents." On the contrary, the authors of "American White Paper" (Simon and Schuster, $1) have been solemnly rebuked by at least one of their colleagues for telling tales out of the White House, a misdemeanor which is peculiarly annoying because so few are able to get away with it. One can understand his feelings. It is as clear as light that Messrs. Alsop and Kintner have obtained a surprising amount of information in the highest quarters; their story of American foreign policy in the making combines the flavor of breezy personal narrative with the solid substance of authenticated fact and documentation. They may not have been under the President's bed when he talked to Bill Bullitt in Paris on the dark morning of September 1, 1939, but it is at least possible that they had the words of the quoted conversation from one of the two men on the wire. Even if they used their imagination in framing those particular sentences, other "inside" facts bear sure marks of authority. Someone in the State Department—and internal evidence suggests that A. A. Berle, Jr., may be the man—must have constituted himself a research assistant to these two talented and prying reporters. In addition, they apparently talked to everyone else worth pumping, read public records and

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private correspondence, listened to first-hand reports of conferences and Cabinet meetings, and even examined the personal habits and accustomed haunts of the principal actors. The result is a brilliantly convincing narrative, and no matter how much official tutoring they received, the authors of "American White Paper" must be credited with a remarkable scoop. It takes journalistic virtuosity to become the chosen recipients of important exclusive material.

The authors call their book "an experiment in contemporary history." I should prefer to describe it as an example of delayed journalism. As history it is fresh and stimulating and useful. But the material should not have been allowed to become history; most of it should have been told day by day in the press and on the air. If members of the government had given out the news as it happened, they would have spoiled a good book; but they would have created an informed public. The narrative of Mr. Alsop and Mr. Kintner makes this point amply plain.

Time after time, as the record reveals, an important line of policy was suggested or inadvertently revealed and then left to the mercy of public speculation and political attack. This happened when the President made his "quarantine" speech at Chicago, when a plane crash disclosed the presence of a French air mission negotiating for American bombers, when the President framed his various peace messages to the dictators. On none of these occasions was the American people—or even the Congress—told by those who knew the full details just what was going on in Europe and just what course the Administration planned to take. The people and their representatives were left in a state of uneasy ignorance that led directly to the defeat of important policies, including, particularly, the effort to lift the arms embargo last spring. People didn't believe war would really come; Europe had cried "Wolf" plenty of times, and America was skeptical. Embargo repeal was defeated in committee by one vote, and the President's subsequent White House meeting of Senate leaders offered final evidence of the failure of the Administration's policy. Borah, announcing his belief, based on his "own sources of information," that there would be no war, ended the hope of Congressional action. The Administration went on preparing for the war it knew was imminent. But it prepared in a political vacuum of its own making.

This gap between the people and their rulers is the less excusable because the Administration has had little to conceal. Its policy since Munich has been honest, fairly consistent, and in general accord with popular sentiment. It has made mistakes—though none since Munich can equal the tragic and unforgettable blunder of its policy in Spain—but it has not made the mistakes attributed to it by isolationist critics. No one reading the record in "American White Paper" can seriously believe that the President and his advisers harbor sinister intentions of "putting the United States into the war." Privately as publicly, Mr. Roosevelt has insisted that under no circumstances would an American army be sent abroad. The authors believe that if the alternative were a Nazi victory, the President might favor limited military aid—ships and planes, perhaps, to supplement arms and money. This is their guess, based on a knowledge of his mind rather than on the record. But at the same time they convincingly show that his steady desire and effort are to avoid the final desperate choice. In "American White Paper" we see the members of the Administration going about this task seriously and intelligently. The record of their effort is reassuring rather than sensational. But the reassurance comes late; much fear and suspicion and bad blood would have been spared if the heads of the government had more fully informed the public to which they must look for support and the Congress which must translate policy into law.

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Big Navy for What?

BY GEORGE T. DAVIS

ON APRIL 18 the Senate passed a bill appropriating $963,797,478 for the Navy Department in the fiscal year 1941. This is the largest outlay since the World War program was suspended. It provides funds for starting two 45,000-ton battleships, one aircraft carrier, two cruisers, eight destroyers, and six submarines, for the completion of eighteen ships now building, and for the purchase of 471 fighting airplanes. The new ships are part of the naval program inaugurated by the Naval Expansion Acts of 1934 and 1938, the first authorizing the construction of a navy at treaty parity with Great Britain, and the second an increase of 25 per cent in treaty tonnage. The fever chart of a world progressing from one crisis to another has aroused both popular and Congressional support for President Roosevelt's dynamic naval policy.

Simultaneously with the passage of the 1941 appropriation bill, the Senate Naval Affairs Committee began hearings upon an additional expansion program calling for an 11 per cent increase in tonnage which will cost about $655,000,000. The overture for the hearings was the alarmist account in the New York *Times* on April 14 of a mighty armada of 45,000-ton super-dreadnaughts which Japan was secretly building. The appearance of such a news item could have been forecast, for such reports traditionally precede the introduction of naval bills.

In the past half-century the American navy has been transformed from a collection of antiquated ships to a fleet on a par with that of the mistress of the seas. After the Spanish War a navy second only to the British became our objective. During the World War the concept of equality with the British began to take form. At the Washington conference in 1921 the United States obtained parity in fighting power of capital ships, though actual equality in battleship tonnage was not to be reached until 1942. At the London conference of 1930 Great Britain conceded parity in all classes. The treaties governing naval limitation are dead, but the principle of parity remains alive, and in recent years British statesmen have even looked with favor upon America's determination to maintain its equal rank. Such approval, from an empire which has considered control of the seas its most cherished tradition, must be recognized as of profound importance. And in the light of our own traditions, the decision to maintain a navy of first rank is no less significant. As yet Americans have not adequately appraised the meaning of our changed naval ranking or considered the consequences that are likely to follow.

It has been no easy matter to persuade a people conditioned by ample *Lebensraum* and isolation to accept the cost of great sea power. But twenty-two of the forty-eight states, many of our great cities, and a considerable percentage of our population are located along the seacoast, and to them in particular big-navy advocates can make a powerful appeal. Before the turn of the century only Europe had to be watched, and in spite of a good deal of talk in Congress and the press about invasion, our statesmen knew that only Great Britain could seriously threaten us; they also knew that the exposed Canadian flank provided an adequate means of countering that threat. The Spanish War changed the whole picture. We extended our frontier to Asia. Our colonial acquisitions liberated the American people from isolationist views which had confined naval policy to the domination of our coastal waters. Even the man on the street could understand that only sea power can guard colonies. In the name of the "white man's burden" and the new imperialism, it became possible to obtain popular sanction for the building of a deep-sea navy.

Our own entrance upon the world's stage was paralleled by the appearance of Japan and Germany, each also aspiring to naval power, world trade, and colonies. When Japan registered a strong remonstrance over the annexation of Hawaii, our naval experts marked it as the country whose naval strength would have to be the measure of our own sea power in the Pacific. The golden age of Japanese-American relations began to decline. In 1900 Germany announced that by 1916 it planned to have the second ranking fleet, one "so strong that even for the adversary with the greatest sea power a war would involve such dangers as to imperil its position in the world." We had set our mind upon the same rank. The world marked well the Anglo-German naval race in the pre-war years. Less conspicuous, less intense, but no less significant for America's foreign relations, was the parallel German-American naval competition for second place. Neither Germany nor Japan had a weak flank, like Canada, affording us the opportunity to exert counter-pressure in a diplomatic crisis. It became the policy of the United States therefore "not to allow itself to be surpassed in naval power by any nation maintaining a great standing army." Our people might still talk isolation, but in naval affairs isolation was ended.

Some American naval advocates urged that America's place in the world could be secured only by a two-ocean navy, the equal of the German and Japanese fleets. Less

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impetuous individuals refused to countenance this proposal. They found the Anglo-Japanese alliance an effective barrier to the establishment of a German-Japanese entente capable of applying simultaneous pressure on both our oceanic fronts. In spite of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, there was never serious fear that England would join Japan in such a maneuver. Our experts, particularly Mahan, found comfort in British sea power and wanted Britain's supremacy over Germany maintained at all costs; in their opinion the British fleet had become America's first line of defense against unfavorable developments in both oceans. During the World War there were fears that this line would not hold and that a German victory might bring Germany and Japan into collaboration on a grand scale and perhaps even win Russia to an agreement with them. These calculations resulted in the naval acts of 1916 and 1918, which would have provided the United States with the largest fleet in the world.

At the Washington conference this objective was laid aside in return for diplomatic concessions—the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and a Japanese retreat in Asia. The United States discarded the hulls and blueprints of a powerful armada, but it affirmed policies which have since become permanent: that the political and naval agreements at Washington should remain bound together, and that only a navy at parity with Great Britain in all categories and superior to that of Japan in the ratio of five to three would provide security for its homeland, outlying possessions, and world trade. These ratios, however, the United States did not maintain, and today it is building at a furious pace to achieve them.

For the possibility of a German-Russian-Japanese collaboration has reappeared. If Stalin and Hitler could join hands, a Russo-Japanese rapprochement does not seem impossible. Remembering the surrender of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, navy men are fearful that an Allied defeat might result in the transfer of British and French sea power to the victors. They believe that only the victory of the Allies can prevent the appearance of two powerful hostile fleets simultaneously in the Atlantic and Pacific. This may be Allied propaganda, but so long as such a perspective exists, it is not likely that naval expansion to the full limit of the building capacity of the nation will be halted.

These real or imaginary dangers looming on the horizon have not induced our government to retreat to a storm cellar. Rather it has assumed new obligations. Its expressed policy has been not to permit the transfer by purchase, cession, conquest, or annexation of any territory in the Western Hemisphere to any non-American power. Concerning Dutch Guiana or Curaçao our position is clear; we would not permit their transfer to Germany in the event of a Nazi conquest of the Netherlands. In addition President Roosevelt has been studying the status of Greenland since the Nazi invasion of Denmark, and it seems safe to predict that Americans would be willing to bring that island under the aegis of the Monroe Doctrine. If we cannot allow the establishment of air bases or naval stations in this hemisphere, does not the same logic apply to the strategic Portuguese and Spanish islands in the Atlantic, which in the hands of a strong power would flank the lines of communications with South America? And does not the same reasoning hold good for the African possessions of European powers when such areas provide points closer to South America than we possess? The recent dramatic extension of American policy to include the maintenance of the status quo of the Netherlands Indies has been accepted by the public with amazing indifference. From Greenland to Singapore, from the Aleutians to the South Atlantic—these are heavy responsibilities for an isolationist nation.

Foreseeing a long period of world anarchy, big-navy men maintain that only naval superiority over any opponent or combination of opponents will provide security. This reasoning ignores the losses of present combatants, the war exhaustion even of the victor, and geographic factors, and assumes that the "aggressor" states would combine as readily for an adventure against us as they might against their neighbors. It ignores the obvious fact that naval supremacy is not a matter of tonnage alone, but is dependent upon many other factors—distances from home naval stations, zones of operation, and available advance bases. If this country must have a fleet at least twice as large as the Japanese fleet to cope with Japan in its adjacent seas, then by the same logic any invasion into our waters would have to be by a fleet twice as large as ours to have any hope of success. The total tonnage of Germany, Japan, Russia, and Italy does not reach such a figure. Moreover, the naval developments of the past twenty-five years have increased a country's ability to defend its coastal waters. If we were willing to let the Philippines go and to defend only the continental United States, we could assure our security at less expense by means of land fortifications and undersea and air armadas supplementing our existing fleet. Obviously we intend to practice no such self-limitation, for our leaders wish American policies to prevail not only in this hemisphere but in Asia and Europe as well. Our navy is built and trained to carry the fight across the sea, if that is necessary.

The American people can build, if they so desire, the biggest fleet in the world, but it is doubtful whether such a fleet would enable us to attain the maritime supremacy that England possessed at the height of its power. During the greater part of England's golden age it was able to check its rivals among the European states by grand alliances in which it assigned to itself the function of blockade and control of communications and depended principally upon its allies to deliver blows on land. It

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was able to search out the enemy fleets in the narrow seas surrounding Europe and to utilize its far-flung naval stations to crush their commerce. In the probable distribution of sea power in the future, powerful fleets will be based upon the continents of Asia and Europe; this will allow us to maintain our supremacy only in adjacent waters rather than throughout the world. The United States has no far-flung naval stations and is unwilling to enter agreements with other powers which would make it possible to correlate their power on land with its power on the seas. If it is our intention to influence the balance of power in Asia and Europe, let us realize that naval strength alone will not do it. A system of alliances will have to be superimposed upon Pan-Americanism; strong military ties will have to be fashioned with the Pacific possessions of the European states for the control of the South Pacific; and as Admiral J. K. Taussig declared at the Senate hearings, we shall have to provide China with all the assistance at our command. Our people are torn between a heritage of isolation and the responsibilities of a world power. Contemporary events permit the conclusion that the days of "splendid isolation" are over, but the still-powerful tradition of no entangling alliances hinders political or military agreements and compels the United States to expand its naval power as the most effective way to implement its world policies. The day is not far distant when Wilson's program for "the greatest navy in the world" will become a reality.

Sudden Death Underground

BY ROSE M. STEIN

YEAR after year the coal-mining industry of the United States exacts a toll of many lives and many more injuries. It is estimated that one out of every five coal miners is killed or receives some injury each year. The ratio of deaths and injuries to tonnage has shown a sharp decrease in recent years, but this is accounted for not by a reduction of the number of accidents but by the increased rate of production resulting from mechanization. The production rate per man-hour has almost doubled in the last thirty years. The casualty rate per man-hour has scarcely changed. For the years 1911-15 the fatality rate per million man-hours worked was 1.8; for 1939 it was 1.7, and because of recent disasters it is bound to be higher in 1940.

Accidents are due to a variety of causes, one of which is explosion. Explosions are dramatic events. When they occur, the press allots them generous space; pictures are taken, widows are interviewed, the story is featured. But the public is interested only for a fleeting moment. Then it forgets all about miners until the next explosion is reported.

Two major mine disasters occurred in 1940 within a little over two months. On January 10, in Bartley, West Virginia, an explosion took ninety-one lives; on March 16, at the Willow Grove mine, Neffs, Ohio, reputed to be one of the safest mines in the country, seventy-two men were killed. These gruesome tragedies would soon have been forgotten, like the scores which had preceded them, if the United States Bureau of Mines, which investigated the explosions, had not made public its findings. Reversing previous procedure, which for thirty years had made such reports available only to the company whose mine was the scene of the accident, Secretary of the Interior Ickes ruled that the facts were of public interest.

Unfortunately, when the reports appeared, the public was no longer particularly interested, and the scant notice given them by the press attracted little attention. In the communities where the explosions had occurred this apathy was keenly resented. Mrs. C——, who lost a brother and brother-in-law in the Ohio blast, spoke out about it: "This here highway," said Mrs. C——, "had cars parked for a stretch of three miles. People came from all over to nosey around and ask questions. Where are they now, after the state has whitewashed the company and our men have to go back into the mine with little or no assurance there won't be another explosion in a week or a month or a year? Where were they when our men had to go into the mine to clean up the mess and come home sick because there was hardly a day but they came across an arm or a leg or some other part of their buddies before they got blown to bits, like as if they were animals? How do you think my husband feels, with his own brother smashed so bad he looked like a mass of black jelly when he was brought out?" She wiped a tear with the corner of her apron and continued with mounting anger. "I don't think anybody cares what happens to the miners. They think our men are just so much dirt. Maybe they think it's the God-given lot of a miner to die the way they did at Willow Grove, to be thrown under a sixteen-ton whaley like my brother was, and him only thirty-two years old. It ain't right," she added despairingly.

It is easy to agree with Mrs. C—— that this wholesale snuffing out of life coupled with the failure to take proper precautions against its recurrence "ain't right,"

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but what can be done about it? Is it possible to eliminate or materially reduce explosion hazards? Are their causes known and can they be controlled? The engineers of the Bureau of Mines answer that "essentially all the explosions which occurred during the last five years could have been prevented by the observance of ordinary precautions." And they produce facts, figures, and actual demonstrations in their own model mine to prove it.

Most coal-mine explosions are caused by gas or coal dust, or both. Practically all mines contain at some time or other sufficient gas or coal dust to start a good-sized blast. The various state mining departments frequently rate mines as non-gaseous; the Willow Grove mine was so rated. The federal Bureau of Mines, however, argues that the no-gas rating creates false security. Any mine which goes deep in under the hills encounters gas. The Bartley mine was known to have it, and it has been established that at Willow Grove also there was a good deal of gas, and that this was known to all concerned as far back as five years ago. The presence of gas does not make explosions inevitable. It does make proper ventilation imperative. Gas is easily dissipated by air; ventilation is all that is necessary. It is as simple as that. Coal dust too can be entirely controlled. The first need is to keep it swept up so that at all times there will be only the barest minimum of it. But even where it has accumulated it can still be controlled by the simple process of wetting and spreading rock dust. The effectiveness of rock dust to prevent or limit explosions has been amply demonstrated not only by extensive research here and abroad but by actual experience—its use has saved hundreds of lives in coal-mine explosions. The Willow Grove mine itself proved the value of rock dust: 130 men were saved, all but 22 of them absolutely unharmed, by the fact that the "rooms" they worked in were separated from the scene of the explosion by the haulage way, which was properly rock-dusted. It was also gunited, that is, the walls had been spread with a mixture of sand and cement which reduces the danger of falling rock. The management places greater emphasis upon the gunite, but Bureau of Mines engineers believe the rock dust was more important.

Why is rock dust not used more extensively? Why was it used in the haulage way of Willow Grove but not in the rooms where the men worked? The answer is that it costs money. It is estimated that the use of rock dust in sufficient quantities to prevent dust explosions would add about one cent per ton to the cost of production. Moreover, the Willow Grove mine was inspected by the state two weeks before the explosion, and rock dust was ordered for the haulage way but not for the rooms.

Even with a dangerous amount of both gas and dust present, the likelihood of explosions can be minimized if means of ignition are properly safeguarded. The powder used for blasting is a principal source of danger. The Bureau of Mines recommends an explosive which while equally effective in loosening the coal is much safer than the powder now in general use. The height and duration of its flame has been so drastically reduced that it can be practically ruled out as a source of ignition. But United States engineers have no power to enforce their recommendations, and the various state mining departments have declared the higher explosive permissible. It is a good deal cheaper than the "safe" powder, and consequently most mining companies continue to use it.

Electric sparks are another frequent cause of ignition. Here too government engineers have set up safety standards, but very few of the mines heed them, and for the same reason. Electric sparks from machinery that should not have been permitted, according to the Bureau of Mines, provided the ignition element which in the presence of gas and dust caused the explosion at Bartley.

The complete report of the bureau's findings on Bartley was released on March 6, ten days before the Willow Grove explosion. Had the latter company or the Ohio inspection service read the report carefully and taken to heart its recommendations concerning proper ventilation, gas testing, rock dusting, and the like, the Willow Grove disaster could have been avoided. For it has been established by the Bureau of Mines, as it was by the miners of Willow Grove long before the bureau's report was released, that the immediate cause of the blast was in all probability what is known as a "windy shot." To a miner a "windy shot" means that the thickness of the coal vein has been overestimated and too much explosive used, so that part of the shot comes back in smoke and flame. Windy shots are frequent occurrences, but the miners know how to dodge them and usually they cause little or no damage. However, when there is an excess of gas undiluted by air, the flames of a windy shot are very likely to spread. And when spreading flame encounters thick dry coal dust, a major explosion results.

With a few commendable exceptions most American coal mines in operation today are potential death traps. They use explosives and machinery which the United States Bureau of Mines rates as non-permissible; they are insufficiently ventilated; and they are either not rock-dusted at all or only inadequately. The elements of disaster are all present; the only wonder is that they are not set off more frequently. Of course when an explosion occurs, the loss sustained by the operator is infinitely greater than the cost of all prescribed safety devices. But most operators seem to be willing to take a chance on playing with fire without getting burned. And the various state mining departments acquiesce.

The miners, too, are a party to this game of chance, principally through participation in a vicious speed-up system promoted by means of bonuses for increased production. At Willow Grove and at other mechanized mines the coal diggers work in crews, and all, including

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the foreman, receive a progressive bonus based upon the amount of coal loaded in excess of a given quota. Under this system the company does not need to drive the men; they drive one another. In order to dig more coal and thereby earn more money they are willing to take desperate risks.

The Bureau of Mines has observed these conditions for many years, unable to do a thing about them. It has done a splendid job of fact-finding, but its facts are between book covers gathering dust. It has made vital recommendations, but so far they have been addressed to deaf ears. It has the knowledge and means for saving thousands of lives, but it cannot even enter a mine save at the invitation of employers or state inspectors. And if the state departments invite bureau specialists once in a while, the employers never do. When a disaster occurs, however, the bureau stands upon no formalities and moves in upon the scene. It helps with the rescue work, studies the causes of the explosion, compiles more facts, presents more recommendations to the industry, knowing full well that little note will be taken of them. It has no authority to inspect a mine or to pass on it before it resumes operation.

An effort to remedy this situation is represented by the Neely bill, now before Congress. Regulation of the coal-mining industry is left by the bill in the hands of the various states, but federal agents are authorized to inspect mines periodically and to publish their findings. Mild as this legislation is, its passage is being fought vigorously by the industry. The higher capital charges on new, safe equipment, plus increased expenditures for rock dust and recommended explosives, would add an estimated 20 cents a ton to the cost of production, and the operators are not sure they could pass this on to the consumer. They are also disinclined to let a federal agency get a foothold in their establishments. The United Mine Workers is fighting hard for the enactment of the Neely bill, which passed the Senate last January. It has since been bottled up in the House, and not even the last two mine blasts have been able to shake it loose.

Gandhi Has Decided

BY KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

THE long-feared storm over India is about to break. For Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, "the terrible meek" who is followed by India's multitudes, has at last decided to strike. The Mahatma's decision comes as an answer to the British government, which two weeks ago announced in the House of Commons that India's demand for independence could not be granted.

The Working Committee of India's Congress Party, meeting at Wardha, where Gandhi resides, after four days of deliberation decided on "the necessity of preparing the Congress organization for *satyagraha* [non-violent direct action]." It also planned the immediate steps to be taken by the leaders as well as the masses, and issued the following call to the people: "The committee welcomes the steps taken by the provincial Congress committees in pursuance of the directions issued by Gandhi to function as *satyagraha* committees and to enrol active and passive *satyagrahis*. The committee trusts that all Congress committees throughout the country will pursue this program with all earnestness and thoroughness and will put their affairs in order for such action as may be required of them." Two months previous to the Wardha meeting, the plenary session of the Congress at Ramgarh had appointed Gandhi the "dictator" of the nation in the event of civil disobedience. Gandhi's men must already be on farms and in factories enlisting peasants and workers for the no-tax campaign and general strike.

If Gandhi decides to make a tour through India to sound out sentiment before launching the campaign, as a dispatch from Bombay indicates he may, it will be a month or two before the fireworks really begin. But this tour will be a part of the program and not a postponement of it. All past civil-disobedience campaigns were preceded by such an all-India tour on the part of Gandhi. Whether it starts tomorrow or a month from now, action is sure to come.

Gandhi's decision is a victory for the Congress Party's left wing, which has all along been trying to force the right into action. Ever since the failure of negotiations between Gandhi and the Viceroy last November, "to strike or not to strike" has been the question in India. And over this issue the rival Indian groups of right and left have divided. The Mahatma, until his final decision was made known, was the leader of the so-called right. Behind him were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Moslem president of the Congress, Sardar Patel, India's Jim Farley, and most of the members of the Congress high command. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if somewhat disgruntled, was also in this camp.

The so-called left is headed by the fiery Subhas Chandra Bose, the youthful leader of Bengal. Close behind him stands M. N. Roy, also born in Bengal but long a resident of Russia, who once was an internationally known Communist and an executive in the Comintern.

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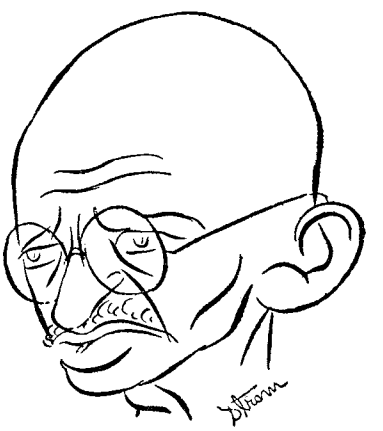
Recently Roy opposed Gandhi's man, Azad, in the race for the Congress presidency. Azad polled 1,840 votes to Roy's 181. However, the election figures show that what is known as the "Forward bloc" in the Congress, created by Bose and Roy, can claim many followers among the young people of Bengal, Maharashtra, and the United Provinces.

In spite of Roy's connection with the Forward bloc, the right and the left within the Congress have not differed primarily on economic issues. Nothing can be farther from the truth than the impression in this country that the present split in the Congress is along Marxist and non-Marxist lines. There have been, of course, charges and counter-charges. Some members of the Forward bloc have alleged that Gandhi's "weak-kneed policy against the British" has been partly inspired by his desire to protect the vested interests of the Ahmedabad mill-owners, with whom he is on friendly terms, and partly by his fear of a social revolution in the wake of the national struggle. Even Bose has voiced his suspicion that something very reactionary has been going on "behind this smoke screen of hot phrases." On the other hand, some members of the right have suggested that Communist influences were at work behind the Forward bloc. That, too, is a misapprehension, for Bose's hero appears to be Mussolini, whom he calls "the essence of leadership."

The chief cause of the cleavage was Bose's restless eagerness to have the struggle begin. Gandhi's delay in giving a signal for direct action against the British government, now with its back turned on India, was generally resented by the radical youth of the country. The right, however, believed there were positive gains from Gandhi's prolonged inaction. In the first place, the Mahatma's repeated offers of negotiation drove home the fact that India was not seeking to make political capital out of England's predicament in Europe. This proof of good-will and understanding at the outset of the struggle is held to be of utmost importance to the success of *satyagraha*. Secondly, Gandhi's tireless efforts at a compromise with the British made the issues clearer to the world at large. The neutral countries now know that India was ready to throw its full weight on the side of democracy if democracy was not denied to India. In the third place, this period of action held in abeyance provided the Nationalists with the much-needed opportunity to organize and discipline the Indian masses before the inevitable showdown.

This explanation of the right wing's policy has not been acceptable to the leaders of the Forward bloc. They have lost, it appears from their utterances, much of their faith in Gandhi's fighting spirit. That seems to have been the main difference between Nehru and Bose. Both were smarting for action. But Nehru had an abiding faith in Gandhi's power and willingness to act whenever the time was ripe, while Bose had no such confidence. Consequently Nehru stuck it out with Gandhi, sure that he would again hear his master's commanding voice rousing India to strike. Nehru's loyalty to the author of the technique of "non-violent direct action" is shared by an overwhelming majority of the Indian people. They seem to realize that if Gandhi is to be the general, he must choose the time to act. They understand Gandhi's challenge: "If you don't like me, remove me, but while I am leader, you must obey me."



Gandhi

There has been a great deal of speculation as to the real reason why Gandhi so long maintained that there was nothing "to warrant a belief that the atmosphere is suitable for declaring civil disobedience." So far as can be learned, the main deterrent seems to have been the communal problem. Ever since the Congress ministries in eight British India provinces resigned, the Hindu-Moslem conflict has assumed an increasingly menacing form. The Moslem League, a communal organization representing a minority of the Moslem minority in India, has declared open war against the National Congress. Its president, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, has so far resisted all the efforts of the Congress to reach a settlement. Although the Congress has shown its intention to grant all the legitimate demands of the Moslem minority short of jeopardizing the evolving democracy in India, Mr. Jinnah seems to be pursuing a policy of raising his demands as soon as an agreement is in sight. He has finally gone so far as to demand the partition of India into a Hindu state and a Mohammedan state.

When the Moslem League, meeting last month at Delhi, indorsed Mr. Jinnah's partition plan, it simply gave form to the older dream of a Mohammedan empire in northern India. What has come to be known as the "Pakistan" movement had hitherto found expression only in poetry and the philosophical musings of writers in Urdu and Persian. Sir Muhammed Iqbal, the greatest Moslem poet of his day, had linked the "Pakistan" idea with the larger Mohammedan aspiration of establishing the rule of Pan-Islam over Asia and southern Europe. The Moslem federation proposed by Mr. Jinnah goes farther than the early Pakistan idea and would include not only the contiguous areas of the Northwest Frontier Province, the Hindu state of Kashmir, and the Punjab but also the eastern provinces of Bengal and Assam. "Pakistan," if accepted, would necessitate the reshuffling

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and resettlement of tens of millions of men, women, and children.

The very impracticability of the idea reveals the desperation of a leader who wants to make political capital out of religious differences. Nevertheless, as long as the idea is discussed in the press and on the public platform, it is bound to have its nuisance value. Since it heightens the existing communal conflict, Gandhi had to appraise its possible effects on the national struggle before sounding the bugle. The possibility of a civil-disobedience movement turning into a civil war could not be dismissed lightly. Hence Gandhi's repeated insistence on communal unity. A desperate British government, short of soldiers in India because of the European war, can naturally be expected to see to it that Hindu-Moslem clashes overshadow Nationalist-British clashes.

Gandhi's recent decision shows that he could not allow the fear of a possible civil war indefinitely to obstruct India's fight for freedom. The underlying contention of the Bose group that if India must have a civil war "let's have it now" gained ground steadily until Gandhi himself became convinced that further postponement of civil disobedience might not be in the interest of the people. For one thing he saw that it might lead the so-called terrorist groups to take the matter into their own hands and revert to violence and bloodshed. The assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, of Amritsar massacre fame, at a meeting in London strengthened this view. A few weeks later a parade of Gandhi men was booed in Calcutta by a group that clamored for action. If for no other reason than to save India and Great Britain from the baptism of blood, Gandhi deemed the time was ripe to launch a civil-disobedience campaign.

One other good reason may have led Gandhi to act. It is quite possible that the Moslems' communal aims may disappear in the immediacies of a national struggle. That happened in 1930, when a considerable part of the Mohammedan community joined hands with the Congress in the civil-disobedience campaign. A majority of Mohammedans are pro-Congress even now, and as the suffering at the hands of the British increases, more and more Moslem League members are likely to be affected by the social contagion of a mass movement. Perhaps it was this fear of losing his following which led Mr. Jinnah to make his latest overture to Gandhi.

At the last the unyielding attitude of the British government left Gandhi no option. In the week before he made public his decision Sir Hugh O'Neill, Under Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons that "in the circumstances it does not seem there is anything further the government can do." Sir Hugh not only banged the door shut on negotiation but went farther and challenged the Congress. "If civil disobedience, unfortunately, is adopted," he added, "His Majesty's government will be bound to take full measures to counteract it. Ordered government must be carried on, especially in time of war, and I cannot but believe the Congress leaders themselves recognize that to the full." Perhaps the phrase "full measures" was intended to sober the hot heads of Congress by its implication of wholesale arrests and imprisonment, of charges by mounted police, of floggings, of scattered shootings, in short, of everything that marked the year 1930 as a reign of terror.

But instead of cowing the people into submission, the British threat of strong reprisals is bound to solidify opinion in India. As soon as action starts, the present controversy between the right and the left will be settled. For in reality the left has merely been pushing the right into bolder direct action, not challenging it. When Gandhi gives the signal, all will fall in line—Nehru, Bose, and even M. N. Roy.

The British Fascist Case

BY ROBERT DELL

SOMEBODY, I forget who, once said: "Save me from my friends: I can take care of my enemies." This came to my mind when I read Lord Lloyd's manifesto on the war entitled "The British Case," which has just been published in America by the Macmillan Company. If it had only Lord Lloyd's name on the title page, it would not matter so much. Everybody in England at any rate knows that gentleman to be an imperialist and reactionary diehard. But another name appears on the title page, that of "The Right Honorable Viscount Halifax, K. G., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs," who has written an introduction approving Lord Lloyd's essay without qualification and recommending that it "be read as a supplement to purely diplomatic history." It is impossible to believe that Lord Halifax could have done this without the consent and approval of the British Cabinet, or at least the Prime Minister. Thus, unless and until Lord Halifax and Lord Lloyd are repudiated by the British government, this British Case must be accepted as official. It is likely to do more harm to the Allied cause in America than the propaganda of all the Communists, Nazis, and other enemies of that

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cause put together. Lord Lloyd's position does not differ substantially from that of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front.

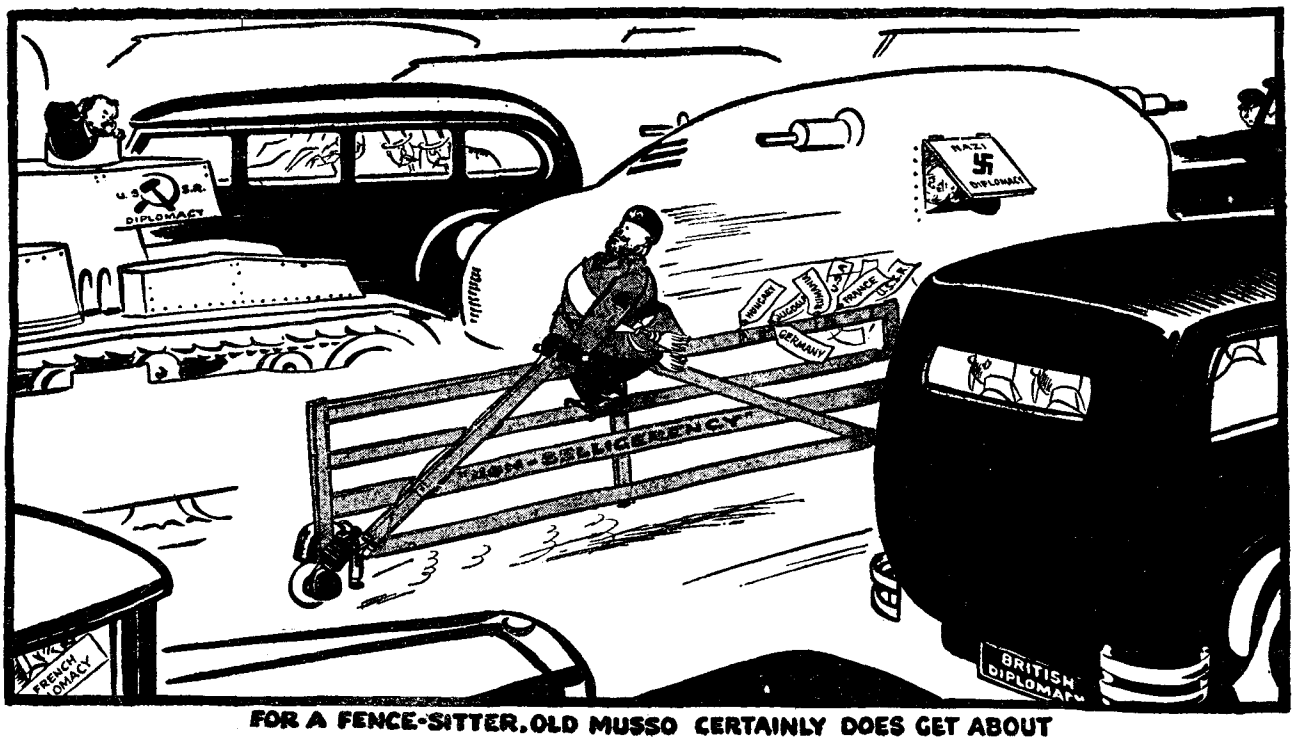
His Lordship is in the same dilemma as the Stalinists. He has to justify a policy which is exactly the opposite of the policy that he himself advocated until recently. Like the Stalinists, he can do this only by mental gymnastics and by juggling with facts. For example, Lord Lloyd declares it to be universally admitted that England and France had no "shred of responsibility" for the last war, whereas innumerable American, English, and French authors, after an exhaustive study of all the diplomatic documents, have come to the conclusion that the British and French governments, and in particular Edward Grey and Raymond Poincaré, had a very great responsibility for it.

He repeats the absurd fiction that Europe was saved by Poland in 1920, but omits to say that the Russians, who were then much too weak to attack anybody, were defending themselves against an unprovoked Polish aggression backed and financed by the British government. Lord Lloyd attributes the Spanish revolution to Russian agents and Russian money and says that the disappearance of Alfonso XIII caused Spain to dissolve into anarchy. On the other hand, the Franco rebellion was a "national uprising" with which apparently Italy and Germany had nothing to do. These are some examples of Lord Lloyd's regard for historical facts.

Lord Lloyd admirably exposes the real motives of Hitler's successive aggressions, but he still thinks that Hitler had "adequate excuses" for everything that he did before March, 1939, and that it was quite reasonable to trust him up to that date. Inasmuch as Hitler had violated every undertaking that he had entered upon after becoming dictator of Germany, those who believed in September, 1938, that he would keep his word were either willing dupes or congenital idiots. Ten months before Hitler sent his troops into the demilitarized zone and violated the Treaty of Locarno, he solemnly declared in a speech to the Reichstag his intention scrupulously to maintain that treaty. The invasion of Austria was a violation of Hitler's agreement with Austria of July 11, 1936, and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938, with the connivance of the British and French governments, was a violation of an assurance given by Göring on his word of honor to the Czechoslovak minister in Berlin on March 12, 1938, and confirmed by Hitler himself.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Hitler's real crime in Lord Lloyd's eyes was his pact with Stalin and that, but for this, Lord Lloyd would have forgiven him everything. Many of Lord Lloyd's remarks justify the suspicion that he wants a religious crusade undertaken against the Soviet Union on the ground that it is anti-Christian.

Lord Lloyd talks a great deal about freedom, but his conception of it is peculiar. The Allies, in his opinion, are fighting for "the principle of nationality," which "is not one among many forms of political organization but a unique experiment necessitated by the requirements of Christian freedom." Christian freedom is clearly not at all the same thing as the freedom which we miscreants



FOR A FENCE-SITTER, OLD MUSSO CERTAINLY DOES GET ABOUT

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understand by that term, for, according to Lord Lloyd, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, and apparently all other countries in Europe except Germany and Russia are free countries. Lord Lloyd brushes aside as dreams any sort of federal system and any alternative to nationalism, including an effective League of Nations. He wants Christian hearts and more and more nationalism.

The most sinister pages in the book are those singing the praises of the Italian Fascist system, which is clearly Lord Lloyd's ideal and which he declares to be fundamentally different from the German and Russian regimes. It is, he says, "founded on two rocks: first, the separation of church and state and the supremacy of the church in matters not only of faith but of morals; secondly, the rights of labor." The Italian state, according to Lord Lloyd, like that of Spain and Portugal, is "neither socialist nor capitalist, but syndicalist"! No doubt the British workers will appreciate the blessings of the system that Lord Halifax and Lord Lloyd evidently hope to impose on them.

The influence of that Anglo-Catholic fanatic Lord Halifax is discernible in Lord Lloyd's ultra-clericalism. The separation of church and state, according to him, means that the church is to impose its own ideas about faith and morals not merely on its adherents but on all citizens, no matter what their opinions, as in fact the Roman Catholic church does in Italy by the terms of the Concordat.

Lord Lloyd's remarks suggest unpleasant suspicions as to the relations between the British government and Mussolini. As most people know, the French General Staff wished to send Mussolini an ultimatum at the beginning of the war to the effect that unless he broke the alliance with Germany, France would declare war on Italy. General Gamelin and his colleagues were overruled, and one had hoped that the sole reason for what now looks like a blunder on the part of the British and French governments was a belief that it would be to the interest of the Allied cause. The Halifax-Lloyd thesis makes one suspect that, like the conduct of the British and French governments in the Abyssinian affair, it was due to a desire to save Mussolini and his Catholic Fascist regime at all costs. It is difficult on any other hypothesis to understand the economic and other favors that have been showered upon Mussolini and the way in which he has been allowed a free hand to carry on intrigue in Europe. Incidentally Lord Lloyd says that the Italian Fascist regime does not threaten the security of other European nations; yet Albania was once a European nation, to say nothing of Spain. In any case it is clear that the war aim of Lord Halifax and Lord Lloyd is to make Europe safe for clericalist fascism. Is this also the war aim of the British government? If it is, how much longer are the English people going to tolerate the "men of Munich" in office?

In the Wind

IN MAYOR HAGUE'S Jersey City bailiwick it is virtually compulsory for city employees to attend the opening baseball game; that's why the team annually breaks attendance records. The story is told that just before this season's opening one employee went to his superior and said timidly: "My grandmother died yesterday—do you mind if I stay away from the ball game to go to her funeral?"

TESTIFYING BEFORE the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, Rear Admiral Taussig declared that war with Japan was "inevitable" and urged an expanded naval program. Senator Hiram Johnson interrupted to suggest that the program seemed ambitious. "I'm just trying to keep us out of peace, Senator," Taussig answered—then hastily corrected himself.

TOTAL WAR: A new pamphlet has just been issued by the Women's Voluntary Service for Civil Defense in England. It is called "Information on Bed-wetting for Householders Taking Unaccompanied Children."

RADIO NEWS: The New York *World-Telegram* radio program recently carried this announcement: "10:45—WEAF, WOR, WABC, WNEW, President Roosevelt, addressing Young Republican clubs."

THE WASHINGTON Kiwanis Club recently held a meeting at which the theme was safety. Lincoln H. Lippincott, nationally known safety advocate, cited the dangers of reckless driving. "Death," he said, "can and must be eliminated from our national roads." At that juncture, reported the Washington *Star*, two men rose and left. They were undertakers.

ROUND-UP: George Seldes is launching a news-letter called "In Fact." . . . Diego Rivera has been assigned by the Mexican government to direct a film dramatizing Mexico's side of the oil dispute. . . . The Civil Liberties Union trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn seems indefinitely delayed.

BISHOP MANNING, first to protest against Bertrand Russell's appointment to City College, went into a barber shop on Morningside Heights recently. As he was leaving, the barber who had served him stuck out his tongue derisively. A patron asked him why. "If Will Russell wants to go to City College, why can't he?" asked the barber plaintively. "Will" Russell is dean of Teachers College.

ALLEN ZOLL, a leading figure in Christian Front circles, was indicted last summer on a charge of extorting $7,500 from the officials of radio station WMCA, which the Christian Front was picketing. It is nearly a year since he was indicted, but he has not been brought to trial. What has happened to the indictment?

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. The prize of $5 for the best item submitted during April goes to H. B. Clemenko for the story about the* Police Gazette *published two weeks ago.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

DURING my recent automobile trip across the continent I often wished that some of my smart friends who are so sure the United States can never do anything well were with me. For at the Grand Canyon, the Petrified Forest, Boulder Dam, and elsewhere I observed once more the efficiency of the National Park Service, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the government's activities in the Southwest. I have long been a "fan" for the National Park Service, but on this trip I was more than ever impressed with the appearance, the character, and the ability of the rangers and the way in which the tourist public is treated. No officials could be more polite or more capable, and no soldiers ever made a better appearance in uniform than these gentlemen who have charge of the nation's parks. With a few exceptions, men admitted because of special qualifications, they are college graduates, and they must have had two years' experience in handling men before being appointed. That they are not drawn to this work by any large rewards is clear from the fact that they start at a salary of only a trifle more than $1,800 and have to pay some rent for the cottages that the government at some places puts at their disposal. Even the higher positions are anything but well paid.

As one of the men said to me, it is not the pay which attracts them but love of the work and of nature. Many of them are experts in some field. Since they are often called on to lecture to tourists, they must have a very clear understanding of the marvels of nature in their region and also of the geological history of the earth. But that is only the beginning. They must have the ability to command other men; they must be woodsmen and devoted conservers of the heritage of our people; and many must be good executives and business men. In return for $1,860 a year the government gets all these things and in addition a loyalty and devotion which money cannot buy. I have tried in vain to recall any public servants in other parts of the world who have impressed me more. Germans would be overbearing, puffed up by authority, stiffly military, forever saluting, and treating the visitors as so many subjects to be herded from one place to another. Nor can I visualize Englishmen in authority able to be so friendly and polite and yet so dignified. In short, the rangers take exactly the attitude that the public servant dealing with the American people should take.

The virtues of the men in charge are reflected in the scientific work of the service. The museums at the various points are models of clear, simple exposition; they illustrate and explain the phenomena of nature so that the simplest intelligence in the great army of visitors can understand. And the custodians are always eager to answer any questions. It did me good to see many CCC boys serving under rangers at the places I visited and getting from them lessons in dignity, courtesy, and the proper attitude toward others. These government employees show what American public servants can be when they are properly picked, justly treated, and kept out of politics. I had heard rumors that politics had begun to creep into the Park Service, and was therefore relieved to hear from some of the men that they had seen no evidence of it. It would be a crime to tamper with such a service.

When I reached Boulder Dam for my first view of that tremendous undertaking I recalled with pride that this great engineering feat was all worked out by the engineers of the Reclamation Service and not by highly paid experts of private industry. The whole work is a monument to the men in our government who conceived it, induced Congress to authorize it, and then carried it through without a breath of scandal, without any charge of graft or corruption or waste, so far as I have ever heard. No enterprise or initiative in our government bureaus? All tied tight with red tape? Let Boulder Dam be the reply—and Norris too, and many, many other successful enterprises, never forgetting the army's great work in constructing the Panama Canal. As I stood looking down upon that enormous structure at Boulder, I could not but recall that this inestimably beneficent enterprise cost only $127,000,000, or just about $37,000,000 more than our newest battleship, which will disappear with nothing to show for it in twenty years, if it is not rendered utterly useless before then by what the Germans are doing in the air.

Before leaving the subject of Boulder Dam, I must recall my satisfaction and happiness that the beautiful lake created by the dam, Lake Mead, was named in honor of Ellwood Mead, who was head of the Reclamation Service when the project was conceived and built. I knew and honored him, and I rejoice in this recognition, for his was long a voice raised in the wilderness. I know that if he were here he would feel that the honor was a recognition not merely of his own services but of those of the thousands of devoted public servants in inconspicuous positions throughout the country who are serving the government as well and as ably as are the rangers and the Reclamation engineers. The profit motive? Where does it come in with men like these?

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

I THINK there would be little dissent from the opinion that Raymond Gram Swing and Elmer Davis are our two best radio news commentators; and I for one am impressed by the fact that the radio is currently starring two commentators who are much superior to the general run of newspaper columnists. I speak from the experience of one who is not exactly a columnist fancier but who spent several months following them around two years ago. The newspaper columnist, as I said then, was born partly of the demand for personality which disappeared from the press when it became a venture in big business. But the difference between Davis and Pegler, between Swing and Thompson, is wide and deep The "personality" of the average newspaper columnist, as revealed day by day, is a blend of partisanship and exhibitionism. Davis and Swing have achieved an objectivity that is truly remarkable—yet to think of the two men or even the two voices is to recognize two personalities quite as distinct as those of Pegler and Johnson, and far more appealing. When I say objectivity I mean just that. I have listened pretty carefully to both men over a period of months. One knows of course that they are opposed to Hitler, yet it seems to me that they have both mastered the difficult art of presenting facts extraordinarily free of the overtones of personal opinion.

It is ironical, perhaps, that Davis and Swing should speak out of the welter of partisanship in toothpaste and tires that is commercial radio; but that perhaps is one element in the happy result. Another is a healthy fear of government interference on the part of the industry and the general resistance to foreign propaganda. It is no accident, of course, that our two best radio commentators are concerned with foreign affairs; there are no "big-time" commentators on domestic subjects of the caliber of Swing and Davis. Like the average newspaper editor, radio is more likely to suffer and promote objectivity about issues in another county. But at least we have Swing and Davis; and their popularity may help to create a demand for similar objectivity in other fields.

You may be interested, by the way, in knowing what a foreign commentator thinks about besides Hitler. Mr. Swing recently made his debut as a composer, when his Fantasia quasi una Sonata for violin and piano was performed under the auspices of the Composers' Laboratory Forum.

Elmer Davis has issued a book of essays with a title which sounds like a sigh of relief, "Not to Mention the War" (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.50). He says in a foreword that he had meant to call it "Not to Mention Hitler" but discovered that he had been unable not to speak of the principal fact of our era even in discussion of quite different matters. These "quite different matters" range from Being Kept by a Cat through The Imperfect Wagnerite to The "Logic" of History, and Mr. Davis has fortunately managed to keep out of none of them that direct and skeptical and humorous tone that makes his radio voice so refreshing among the mouthings of the tribe of talkers who discuss the merits of toothpaste with exactly the same synthetic passion they display in reporting the bombing of open towns.

I hope Mr. Davis will not mind if I say that from his first name to the inflections of his voice, he bespeaks "common sense" and "the plain American." He has taken Oxford and a long career in metropolitan journalism in his stride; the Greeks and Romans are not for him aliens from Southeastern Europe; yet his voice and his salty comments would not be out of place beside the stove in the country store. The terms common sense and plain American have fallen on evil days. They were once identified with such cosmopolitan figures as Tom Paine and Benjamin Franklin; they have latterly been used to glorify that bigoted provincial Calvin Coolidge and other assorted Republicans. But they are still good terms for useful qualities, which should be rescued and restored.

THE GERMAN Shakespeare Society, I read recently, was planning to hold its usual annual meeting in Weimar despite the war. The president explained that in more than a hundred years the German people have made the works of Shakespeare their own. The plays continue to be produced, and one exuberant Nazi said that Britain stands to lose not only the war but Shakespeare to boot. I wonder. Isn't it just possible that Shakespeare may turn out in the end to be a Trojan horse? I suppose the Nazis are capable of a new bowdlerization of Shakespeare designed to remove subversive phrases, but if the German people have made Shakespeare their own, if they are, that is, as full of quotations from his plays as Englishmen and Americans, the bowdlerization may not take. I wonder how many German lovers of Shakespeare these days are restraining themselves from thinking, for instance, that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark"—and points north.

THE LAUNCHING of a new weekly arouses excitement even in a world overwhelmed with print. We may imagine how in 1865 the rumor of Godkin's forthcoming new journal must have fluttered the journalistic and intellectual dovecotes. A reader has been kind enough to copy out and send me the passage in "Notes of a Son and Brother" in which Henry James speaks of the founding of *The Nation* and the beginning of his long friendship with its editor. I think that even those who know the passage will not mind rereading it.

> I recall how, having commenced critic under Charles Norton's weighty protection, I was to find myself, on all but the very morrow, invited to the higher glory, as I felt it, of aiding to launch, though on the obscure side of the enterprise, a weekly journal which, putting forth its first leaves in the summer of '65 and under the highest auspices, was soon to enjoy a fortune and achieve an authority and a dignity of which neither newspaper nor critical review among us had hitherto so much as hinted the possibility. The New York *Nation* had from the first, to the enlivening

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of several persons consciously and ruefully astray in our desert, made no secret of a literary leaning; and indeed its few foremost months shine most for me in the light of their bestowal of one of the longest and happiest friendships of my life, a relation with Edwin Lawrence Godkin, *The Nation* incarnate as he was to become, which bore fruit of affection for years after it had ceased to involve the comparatively poorer exercise. Godkin's paper, Godkin's occasional presence and interesting history and vivid ability and, above all, admirably aggressive and ironic editorial humor, of a quality and authority new in the air of a journalism that had meant for the most part the heavy hand alone, these things, with the sudden sweet discovery that I might for my own part acceptedly stammer a style, are so many shades and shifting tints in the positive historic iridescence that flings itself for my memory, as I have noted, over the "period" of Ashburton Place.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Economic Consequences . . .

HOW TO PAY FOR THE WAR. By John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.

THE British budget for the current fiscal year, outlined last week to the House of Commons, estimates war costs at £2,000,000,000 and total government expenditure at £2,667,000,000. This represents, according to the calculations of Mr. Keynes in his new book, almost 50 per cent of the national income for the same period, assuming that most of the remaining unemployed are put to work, that output is further raised by increasing working hours, and that employment is given to large numbers of women and other persons normally outside industry. Consequently half the goods and services produced in Britain will be utilized by the government, leaving half for general consumption.

The problem which Mr. Keynes has sought to solve in this brief book is: What is the most just and socially least disruptive way of extracting from the pockets of British citizens a full half of their incomes? By hook or crook it will be done, for governments at war can always manage to find the money, but Mr. Keynes is especially anxious to avoid the crooked way of inflation, believing that it inevitably leads to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

In summarizing the thesis of this book it is simpler to use index numbers so long as it is understood that these represent very rough approximations of the author's statistics, which, themselves, do not pretend to more than broad accuracy. Let us then assign the figure 100 to the probable national British income for the current year. Government expenditure will therefore be 50, toward which taxation on the increased scale provided in the new budget will contribute 25. The balance must be made up by loans, and according to Mr. Keynes's calculations, normal pre-war savings plus a proportion of normal depreciation funds can only be expected to contribute 8.5.

Now let us approach the question from the angle of the receivers and consumers of income. To arrive at the amount of spending money available to them we must deduct from gross income paid out, that is 100, both taxes and estimated savings, which together come to 33.5. This leaves 66.5 as the sum which can be devoted to general consumption, but as we have already seen, government expenditure will absorb goods and services equivalent to 50. If, then, consumers attempt to spend the whole of their 66.5, there will not be a sufficient supply of goods to satisfy all of them and prices will rise. Or, if prices are artificially curbed, shortages will follow. The first alternative involves inflation, with wages vainly chasing prices, with fixed incomes automatically shrinking, and with the comparative few who own goods and equities reaping an unearned increment. The second alternative would lead to a wide extension of rationing, to time-consuming and irritating queues, to bootlegged buying privileges for the rich and influential, in short, to the system now prevalent in Nazi Germany.

But how can the government curtail spending power to bring it into balance with the current supply of goods? Can it rely on a voluntary increase in savings or can it screw up taxation still farther? Mr. Keynes thinks there may be some scope for both methods, but he does not believe that together they would reduce purchasing power to the required extent. So far as taxation is concerned, he points out that if everyone with more than £250 a year had the whole of his income in excess of that sum extracted by taxation, the government's requirements would only just be met. So drastic a measure seems practical neither as economics nor politics. Mr. Keynes, therefore, advocates a system of compulsory savings, or, as he prefers to call it, deferred earnings, applied to all incomes above the subsistence level. In the case of wage and salary workers he proposes that these earnings should be deducted at the source and credited to each individual's account with the Post Office Savings Bank, or some other approved institution. Except in certain emergencies, these accounts and the accumulated interest on them would be blocked until after the war when, if released as the inevitable post-war deflation began, they would provide the economy with a sustaining flow of purchasing power. An integral part of the plan is a firm pledge of a capital levy after the war from the proceeds of which these forced loans would be repaid. The loans, themselves, would not be included in computation of capital.

But there is still another facet to Mr. Keynes's program, for he wishes "to snatch from the exigencies of war positive social improvements," and to this end he suggests a system of family allowances from public funds which would tend to equalize the position of people with children with that of those without such responsibilities.

Despite this proposal, the Keynes plan has been received with considerable suspicion by British trade unionists. They fear that it may be an attempt to put an undue part of the war burden on the shoulders of those whose standard of living is already low, and to allow the rich to evade their full share. In some quarters it has been argued that the workers would do better to chance inflation, trusting to their organized strength to keep wages in line with prices. But while the better-placed workers might achieve this result, it would be partly at the expense of those whose bargaining position was weak. Moreover, as Mr. Keynes makes clear, each wage increase would add to the disequilibrium between purchasing power and available goods and thus provide the stimulus for a further inflationary rise in the price level.

For the time being discussions of the merits and demerits of the program, persuasively outlined in this book, are rather

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academic, since the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while accepting much of Mr. Keynes's diagnosis, has turned down his prescription. Instead, the new budget aims at encouraging savings by taxes on consumption goods, which always put a disproportionate burden on small incomes, and by dividend restrictions, which amount to compulsory savings for stockholders. It remains to be seen whether these measures will prove adequate or whether once again events will justify Mr. Keynes as a prophet. Meanwhile, American readers, even though their own pocket-books are not involved, will be well advised to study this statement of the principles and practice of modern war finance. No layman need fear the difficulties of the subject, for as usual Mr. Keynes writes with a clarity and force which ought to be both a challenge and an example to his fellow-economists.

KEITH HUTCHISON

"Ah, Language Like a Landslide"

THE MAN COMING TOWARD YOU. By Oscar Williams. Oxford University Press. $2.

MUCH has been made by Mr. Williams and his publishers of the fact that, after producing a book of youthful verse at the age of twenty-two, he "dropped" poetry "from a sense of futility at the gulf between poet and public," "bluffed his way into the advertising business, where he forgot all about poetry and held important and lucrative positions for sixteen years," and "neither wrote nor read" until he gave way to "an inner necessity to turn again to the writing of poetry." He then announced his ambition to "write a poem that would *act*—that would walk off the table and perform." This statement did not sound too happy at the time. It suggested too vividly what happens to an overexposed piece of cheese. But it turns out that Mr. Williams has a better gift for phrases than we supposed. He now offers the heated harvest of his three-year reunion with the muse, and the antics of his art provide one of the most spectacular performances ever witnessed outside the three-ring arena of Mrs. Anita Browne's National Poetry Week at the National Poetry Center in Radio City. This, as Mr. Fitts once remarked in another connection, "is Helicon cockeyed, an individual mob scene on Parnassus." Or as someone else said on a more dignified occasion, "There is a serious difference between poetry and a panic."

One hesitates to apply such verdicts to anything written with honest intentions, but Mr. Williams hardly puts one's scruples to much of a strain. For one thing, good poetry, like good piano-playing or good weight-lifting, is seldom produced by sheer compulsion after a protracted recess from every discipline or ordeal it imposes. For another, neither language nor sensibility can stand up long under the systematic bludgeoning here employed to rouse them to activity. Mr. Auden says on the jacket that Oscar Williams is "concerned largely with the spiritual breakdown of the times. He feels that the mechanized life is the Devil, and the subject of many of his poems is just this theme; while their form and imagery [I omit the comparison with Wallace Stevens] are romantic, violent, and exciting." These remarks are relevant but wholly avoid the point. Breakdown and mechanization are indeed the devils of the age, but Mr. Williams doesn't think so. Or if he does, he doesn't write as if he did. He battens on them. He virtually harmonizes them. "Unlike many romantics," continues Mr. Auden, "Mr. Williams has lived successfully in the world that he attacks and in whose values he once believed." But if his book is legitimate evidence, his success in that world was irremediable. Its standards possess him still. He shows no serious intention of discarding its billboard eloquence, its frenzied jargon, its sensory barbarism, its confusion of mass and value, its torrential brutality of emotion. Genuine poetry has never for a moment tolerated these properties. And the poetry of disorder, being particularly vulnerable to their seductions, is under the special necessity of guarding the authority of feeling and expression that Mr. Williams seems quite willing to club into insensibility.

What he has let loose instead is an eruption of words and portents that one hesitates to dignify as volcanic. It is a discharge of mixed and muddled metaphors, a ranting vulgarity of rhythms, a racket of the massed clichés of tragic prophecy and moral decay that mainly succeeds in making Frederic Prokosch or Paul Engle seem a model of restraint. Like most followers of the Auden school or the Rimbaud vogue, Williams lets his "language like a landslide" crash with an uproar of versified noises designed to deafen every known principle of poetic insight, subtlety, and control. Symbols stifle every page. Even comparatively conscientious poems like "Seraphs" and "Jeremiad" are lost in the toneless hysteria of their companions. This is no "attack" on the "mechanized life." It is not a resistance to violence but a surrender to it. It is a mass explosion of sensations grown rabid and frantic, a voluntary nightmare wherein "hair explodes," "lightning stabs," "the atom creaks," "curtains" are "lustful," "distant guns" have "orgasms," "numerals wriggle," "the swine bulge in the snake bellies of the telegraph wires," "man peers into the gulf of his large hand And sees a storm of statues there," civilization roars "into the darkness of the nervous system," and the reader's mind, dazed in "the wet marble of my reverie," ceases to clutch at occasional felicities of metaphor which are quickly canceled out by the pouring bewilderment or to grapple with wholesale atrocity deftly touched off by the best tricks of mail-order *surréalisme,* and soon stops caring whether trumpets have shins or miles are saliva, loins are a gulf or song is a toehold, whether it is minnows or golden lepers that possess tightened thighs of thought, whether bugles blow like mushrooms or music explodes like brimstone, whether the train zooms like a zipper closing up swiftly the seam of time or the ankle of Mrs. Nobody is going nowhere for a nickel.

It is hardly to be expected that qualities of integrity or judgment should survive a frenzy that never allows a clean breath to be drawn or a momentary focus to declare itself in the mind. So it comes as no surprise that Mr. Williams, whatever his sensory energy and his considerable gift for rapid-fire metaphorical invention, has ended in a chaotic topsy-turvydom of meanings, that his humanitarian sense is as crude as his ear, that his powers of discrimination are as nonexistent as his taste, and that he reminds us on every page that energy, like the cipher in arithmetic, depends for its value on the number to which it is attached. In this he is not alone. He has simply capitalized to the limit the welter of

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standards, the intoxication of the chaotic, and the excitement of the brutal which are freely indicted today as the sources of moral debauchery, but which many of his fellow-poets are serving up in gluttonous orders that make most of the poetry of disorder produced in the much-maligned twenties appear by comparison severe and ascetic. Editors seem to like the stuff, however, and much of it will make excellent material for military pep-fests when the encroaching horror at length reaches our shores. Then what, we may ask with Mr. Williams—

> Then what of the past, the present, the future,
> Locked in a coma behind the shutters,
> The tons of myth in the nerve stream of nature,
> The face that is hidden in quicksilver anguish,
> That bleeds at the fingertip touch of language,
> The enormous seraph writhing in the gutter?

"Let him writhe!" is Mr. Williams's verdict. He is much too regaled by the spectacle to pick the seraph up, wipe off his wings, and give him a lift to the lucid and perilous heavens where he rightly belongs. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Black Chronicle

SUFFERANCE IS THE BADGE; THE JEW IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD. By Abram Leon Sachar. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

A BOOK on a ubiquitous group like the Jews must cover a good deal of ground. Indeed, Mr. Sachar's survey of Jewish history since Versailles practically circles this unhappy globe. The black chronicle of oppression and destruction starts appropriately enough with Germany and winds its roundabout way through three continents, until it reaches the democratic countries, "freedom's Maginot Line." Up to this point Russia is the only part of the picture that shows a few lights shimmering among the shadows. The rest of the book treats the Latin American countries, allows a substantial section for Palestine, and has a concluding chapter which presents a not unhopeful view of the situation in the United States. Not the least remnant of Israel goes unnoticed: China's "Jews with queues," the tiny community in the jungle of Dutch Guiana, the mountain Jews of the Caucasus, and "the wandering Jews," among them the Lithuanian peddler who had found a refuge in Zululand and who was there greeted by a fellow-Jew with the pun: "*Gam Zulu tovo!*"

As the various local backgrounds with which the life of the Jew is integrated are invariably sketched in, the book takes on the character of a general history of the past twenty years. In so encyclopedic a work by a single hand some errors of fact are to be expected—there are not a few in the Russian chapter. A more obtrusive fault is a certain unctuousness and sentimentality in dealing with some aspects of Palestine and with life in the United States. These, however, are not serious flaws in a book which is uniformly interesting, occasionally entertaining—the author has a store of good anecdotes on which he draws judiciously—and extremely informative.

Mr. Sachar's narrative brings out clearly the recent uses of anti-Semitism as a political weapon. The most important point that the story carries, however, is that the evil has economic roots. The author is at pains to show that it flourishes in periods of unemployment, sharp competition, shrinking markets, drastic occupational realignment. He concludes that the eradication of anti-Semitism depends primarily upon the establishment of healthy economic conditions. Mr. Sachar is all too vague about how this consummation is to be effected. He definitely rejects the Communist method of obtaining economic security as destructive of the humane values. He puts his hope in political democracy, supplemented by economic democracy, that is, a system which allows equality of opportunity to all and in which "abundance is shared." He leaves the reader wondering how this is to be achieved. He is, however, admirably clear on one point. He sees that the salvation of the Jewish people, properly enough, is bound up with that of the rest of mankind: "There can be no emancipation for one group except as part of a general human deliverance."

While working toward this remote goal, the author would have the group look to its defenses, both inner and outer. It must combat anti-Semitism in immediate and practical ways and seek to overcome the prejudices of the unenlightened through public education. The Jews must also build up their morale by steeping themselves in their own tradition, by strengthening the ties with a past in which the author, for one, takes pride. He is careful to disclaim any addiction to the Chosen People complex, but he seems to make a little too much of the Spinozas and the Einsteins that Israel has produced.

Obviously, the author is not concerned merely with the threat to the physical preservation of the group to which he belongs. He would keep both the Jews and Jewishness alive. The latter has for him a unique cultural and ethical significance. He opens the Credo for Survival with which the volume is brought to a close by retelling the following Haggadic legend. Caught between the pursuing Egyptians and the Red Sea, the Hebrews took counsel among themselves. Some advised surrender. Others bade their fellows trust in the Lord. A third faction would have flung themselves in desperation on the spears of the Egyptians. A fourth group declared for marching forward toward the Promised Land, though it were into the Red Sea itself, and perishing, if they must, with banners flying. This, Mr. Sachar holds, is the counsel to be followed even now, and he feels that the outcome is apt to be as fortunate. Like Irwin Edman, though concerned with a special province of the night, he holds a candle in the dark. He has confidence in mankind and in the civilization that it has built. He believes that the forces of evil cannot long endure, and that though some branches of Jewry may be lopped off in the hurricane, the tree that has withstood so many fierce storms will not be uprooted. Here is an expression of the life-instinct of a threatened minority stubbornly clinging to its identity, an urge with which, I imagine, even the outsider must sympathize. Mr. Sachar also cherishes the belief, which, though comforting, is rather doubtful, that the Jewish people by its very martyrdom is performing the signal service of rousing the conscience of mankind and thus upholding the cause of civilization.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

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Lincoln's Prose

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. Random House. $3.75.

THERE must be a good many people who, like myself, have known from childhood the famous passages in Lincoln's prose, but have read almost nothing of the prose itself. We have been, of course, almost criminally remiss—not simply for neglecting the work of an acknowledged master of words, but much more vitally for not seeking, at the source, insight into the greatest character in our history. But what we have perhaps needed is just such a book as this: a well-chosen, well-edited, well-printed selection from Lincoln's speeches and letters, with a modern-minded biography of Lincoln thrown in for guidance and good measure.

I don't propose (since I could only pretend) to review this book in terms of Lincoln the statesman. I hardly propose to review it in terms of Lincoln the man, since—for all the light cast upon Lincoln the man by Lincoln the writer—he too often remains, even to specialists like Mr. Stern, ambiguous and impenetrable. What I can best do, since this is a selection from Lincoln's writings, is to say something about how he wrote.

The overwhelming part of this book cannot, of course, be treated as literature, since it was never intended to be literature. Except for his private letters, virtually everything that Lincoln wrote had a political purpose, much of it an immediate political purpose, so that its literary side is exhausted once one states whether its language served that purpose well or badly. It is only here and there—except in the last few years—that one finds Lincoln writing with personal emotion or prophetic vision, or that one finds him bringing to the harassed business of living a sense of the mystery of life.

Nevertheless, in this procession of words which reveals the development of Lincoln's mind and character one also finds an orderly development in the power to use language. Lincoln began to write haltingly and clumsily, though not confusedly; his early prose has no distinction and only the simplest merits. From the start, however, he seems to have had little taste for those flights of rhetoric which debase, even when they seem to adorn, public speaking. He was at first a dry speaker—the local issues he was concerned with hardly lent themselves to an eloquent approach—but he was never a tumid one. Perhaps naively, I was disappointed to find in Lincoln's speeches very little of that raciness which is part of the Lincoln legend; instead of a cidery backwoods tang there was only too often a dull provincial awkwardness. Even his more mature work lacks salt: the force of Lincoln's habitual writing is force of mind rather than force of personality, as its wit is wit of reasoning rather than of imagination. But these qualities were enough, once Lincoln came to feel at home on a platform, to make him a really cogent speaker—easy to follow, hard to rebut. (His letters, barring the few that everyone knows—and are even they as felicitous as they are famous?—seem to me undistinguished.)

Since Lincoln's habitual writing is one in which legalism figures and logic predominates, it is largely lacking in fervor and warmth. It is only when Lincoln allows emotion the upper hand that the inspiring change from "prose" to "poetry" is felt: then the rhythm intensifies, and it is not Blackstone but the Bible that shapes the language. Still, there are times when Lincoln has a different kind of power: the famous last sentence of the Cooper Union speech, for instance, is pure platform eloquence, and entirely Lincoln's own.

All Lincoln's finest utterances, beginning with the touching farewell speech at Springfield, belong to the period of the Presidency. As Lincoln became a man of destiny, the iron entered his soul; but it was a deeper sense of the tears of things that stole into his prose. It may well be that sentiment leads us to overrate even the best passages, though no one who reads them in their context can question how moving or how thrilling they are. One may pick flaws in the second-to-last paragraph of the Second Inaugural (the rhythms are a touch mawkish, and there is one appalling rhyme); but in the last paragraph there are no flaws—it is great hortatory prose, born of a great emotion. Not only did Lincoln act under the stress of events; under that stress, he wrote; and the best of what he wrote belongs as certainly to American literature as it does to American history.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Nazism, Inc.

THE LIGHTS GO DOWN. By Erika Mann. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

THE ten "typical" cases of Nazi oppression which make up Miss Mann's latest book are related in the form of short stories. Miss Mann knows that most men have a natural tendency to immunize themselves from the suffering of others. Hence the problem is to implicate the reader's emotions in spite of himself. Although her literary devices are naive and the propaganda framework at all times visible beneath the cloth, the present technique is effective. Truth is made as real as fiction.

Admiring the humanity of Miss Mann's convictions one yet wonders if her oversimplified approach to the problem of Nazism is not ultimately dangerous to the very cause she serves. The final statement of this book would seem to be that Germany is dominated by a group of very evil men, a sort of nationalized Murder, Inc., who are picking on a lot of nice people like you and me. If the author is aware that the Weimar Republic failed for definite reasons or that the Allies had considerable responsibility for that failure we get no hint of it here. Instead we have a kind of idyl of babes in the woods beset by marauding wolves. Such a presentation fails in responsibility because it arouses our emotions without in any way increasing our understanding of the situation. It encourages that unreasoning simplicity of feeling which is precisely one of the basic evils of Nazism. Miss Mann should take a hint from Duff Cooper's recent speech, as brutally irrational as though it came from Goebbels's own mill, in which he declared that the Allies *are* fighting the German people. The tendency of all war-time propaganda is to simplify and dramatize issues so that there shall be no division in the emotional response. It would certainly seem to be the part of refugee propagandists like Miss Mann, who

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have a sincere love of Germany, to struggle to prevent this simplification.

The fight against Nazism requires a double focus. Being united in hatred of Hitler is not enough; there must also be a constant effort at enlightenment and self-criticism. Apparently Mr. Duff Cooper's war is not quite the same as Miss Mann's. Nor is our idea of democracy quite the same as Mr. Chamberlain's or Mr. Churchill's. Nor can we or Miss Mann approach the basic evils of fascism with quite such easy casuistry as Nevile Henderson displays in his recently published memoirs. It should certainly be apparent now that men like these had no very definite convictions about what constitutes either fascism or democracy.

O'Leary is reported to have said that there never was a cause so bad "that good men did not fight for it, and for good reasons." In the present crisis it is up to us to keep our wits and resist the luxury of blind feeling in order that the "good reasons" of both sides don't cancel themselves in universal failure.

WILLIAM GILMORE

Mr. Adler's Textbook

HOW TO READ A BOOK: THE ART OF GETTING A LIBERAL EDUCATION. By Mortimer J. Adler. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

THE author of this guidebook is kind enough to exemplify his own theory by frequent outlines and cumulative summaries. He pauses somewhere in chapter nine to state the subject matter of the first six chapters:

> This book is about the nature of reading in general, the various kinds of reading, and the relation of the art of reading to the art of being taught in school and out. It considers, therefore, the serious consequences of the neglect of reading in contemporary education, suggesting as a solution that books can be substituted for living teachers if individuals can help themselves learn how to read.

That is on page 166. On page 64 he has already made the point:

> . . . we have now pretty well defined the purpose of this book. It has taken many pages to do that, but I think you can see why it would have been unintelligible if I had stated it in the first paragraph. I could have said: "This book is intended to help you develop the art of reading for understanding, not information; therefore it aims to encourage and assist you in reading the great books." But I do not think you would have known what I meant.

If this really is unintelligible without the pages of painstaking dilution of the obvious with which Mr. Adler seeks to cushion the shock of revelation for what he imagines to be "the average reader," then (in his words) "the proliferation of textbooks and lecture courses in our educational system today" has a rival as "the surest sign of our declining literacy." Mr. Adler writes as if he were addressing a particularly naive class in Freshman English, and one which meets so often that he is obliged to stretch the material for one good lecture over a far larger number of teaching hours.

Part I consists of the six chapters described above. Part II deals with "The Rules." Here are the directions for not reading fiction as if it were fact which he considers not only

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important enough to italicize, but abstruse enough to require further elucidation:

> *(1) Don't try to find a "message" in a novel, play, or poem; (2) Don't look for terms, propositions, and arguments in imaginative literature; (3) Don't criticize fiction by the standards of truth and consistency which properly apply to communications of knowledge; (4) Don't read all imaginative books as if they were the same.*

"All the obligations of a reader" finally boil down to four questions (with directions from Mr. Adler for answering them):

I. What in general is being said?
II. How in particular is it being said?
III. Is it true?
IV. What of it?

Singularly enough, at this point the author fails to show how the technique can be applied to his own book. The answers in this instance seem to be: I. This has been explained above. II. Something fairly simple is analyzed and reanalyzed until it looks, at any rate to the author, very complicated. As a matter of detail, it might be remarked that his style is not distinguished by unusual precision in the use of words or care in construction. Nevertheless, he is by no means dull. III. The rules for understanding a book seem almost self-evident; the need for their formulation at such length less so. IV. This can best be answered by those who need a textbook for use in teaching would-be teachers. There are acute remarks, especially in Chapter 5 on The Defeat of the Schools, and salutary reminders; but on the whole the book's interest for adult readers is confined to this class.

According to the book news this is not true. The wider appeal which Mr. Adler's textbook makes is doubtless due to Part III, where he considers "the great books," which is actually another subject. It is a pity that the interesting experiment at St. John's College, Annapolis, should come before the general reading public in this accidental tie-up. It deserves discussion on its own merits, and Mr. Adler, who has so little sense of proportion as to include Jacques Maritain in a list of great teachers in association with St. Augustine and William James, and Stuart Chase with Hobbes and Locke (or even with Ogden and Richards), is not a safe guide for the discussion. For Mr. Adler is a highbrow; that is, he underestimates the intelligence of other people as compared with his own.

JAMES ORRICK

In Early Issues of The Nation

Charles A. Beard's
"A Foreign Policy for America"
Reviewed by Reinhold Niebuhr

Alfred M. Bingham's
"The United States of Europe"
Reviewed by Stuart Chase

Jonathan Daniels's
"A Southerner Discovers New England"
Reviewed by Margaret Marshall

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IN BRIEF

THE WINDS OF SPRING. By Walter Havighurst. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Jan Sorenson, Swedish student of natural history, brings a young bride to Wisconsin in the 1840's, makes a home and wins the respect of his neighbors, but always prefers the study of the country's rapidly vanishing wild life to the winning of lands or money. The whirr of birds' wings in fresh, clean air gives zest to pages pleasantly unburdened with historical trappings.

OH, PROMISED LAND. By James Street. The Dial Press. $3.

This started out to be a biography of Big Sam Dale, the first Georgia "Cracker," but turned into a large-scale, thoroughly documented novel whose hero, Big Sam Dabney, fights and loves and carves out a fortune in Georgia and the Mississippi Territory between 1794 and 1817. Plenty of full-blooded action silhouetted against a background of the Creek War, the War of 1812, the slave trade, the Natchez Trace, the forging of a Southern esprit de corps as opposed to the state consciousness of Virginia and the Carolinas.

FANDANGO. By Robert Briffault. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

This is hardly more than a hastily written footnote to "Europa" and "Europa in Limbo," indicating that life in Spain and Austria during the last few years has been no picnic either. Quite sketchy in its account of the tribulations of Carlotta von Görlitz, and unconscionably melodramatic.

THIS LAND IS OURS. By Louis Zara. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

Here is another epic of wagon wheel, squirrel rifle, buckskin shirt, Indian fighting, and the westward urge, covering the eighty years from 1755 to 1835 and the country from Philadelphia to Chicago. This one is as ambitious as any, and better than most; 775 pages of epic, if that's what you like.

JONATHAN EDWARDS: 1703-1758. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

Miss Winslow's biography is notable, among other things, for its detailed treatment of a sensational episode in Edwards's life—the story of the "bad book." It seems that some youngsters of Edwards's Northampton congregation had been reading, privately and with a good deal of relish, a book of instructions to midwives. Somehow Edwards got wind of the thing and demanded an investigation; but instead of assisting him, the parents of his congregation resented this pastoral interference in the private life of the community, and they expelled him. And Edwards went to Stockbridge to nurse his bitterness and preach to the Indians. Thus, as Miss Winslow shows, Edwards was addicted to lost causes in deed even as in word. For just as his theology was an attempt to check the tide of evangelism by refurbishing Calvin, so in his pulpit practice he tried to maintain the theocratic principle against the democratic one. Miss Winslow's study of this fascinating reactionary is well written and soundly documented. She has ransacked the Edwards manuscripts in the Yale Library; and besides adding to our knowledge of Edwards, she gives a good sketch of life in the old colonial parishes.

GUATEMALA, PAST AND PRESENT. By Chester Lloyd Jones. University of Minnesota Press. $5.

An encyclopedic survey, as the book jacket asserts, of "the political, economic, and social history and organization of the Central American country with the largest investment of American capital and the greatest economic development and foreign trade." Full notes, an extensive bibliography, and sixty-two photographs, maps, tables, and charts add to its value. The final chapter, If I Were Dictator, offers no solution to the problem of transition from dictatorship to popular control.

POSITIVE DEMOCRACY. By James Feibleman. University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.

Democracy, historically associated with the nominalism of the commercial middle class, is not logically bound up with it. Finding the philosophical basis of democracy in realistic epistemology, the author shows its affinity with the scientific stage of culture and deduces that it can transcend the class struggle—provided it substitutes the conception of property as function for the conception of property as substance; and for irrational individualistic liberalism, the identification of the individual's freest development with the furtherance of the social welfare of Peirce's unlimited community. A stimulating thesis is here very clearly set forth.

DRAMA

ALBERT BEIN, one of the younger "proletarian" playwrights, deserts realism in "Heavenly Express" (National Theater) and concerns himself with a hobo myth about a celestial train which carries dying tramps to their own special paradise. We never see the actual train, but we hear a good deal about it from a mysterious stranger who talks about "the eternal vagabond," and we also see the consternation caused among trainmen on the Sante Fé when reports of the unscheduled express come pouring in. The play got a mixed reception in the press, but there are several reasons why it seemed to me rather trivial despite the obvious earnestness of the author and the almost heroic efforts of a good cast to make it exciting. For one thing hobos are hard to idealize and their mythology seems neither very original nor very imaginative. For another it still remains true that on the stage the impossible is accepted much more easily than the improbable. I am not unwilling to believe that a heavenly express picks up hobos. But there are other things which seem just plain unlikely.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

Persia's 6,000 Years

PERSIA is a rediscovery of this generation. We already know something of its sumptuousness, but it will take a visit to the great show, "6,000 Years of Persian Art" (1 East Fifty-first Street, New York, throughout the summer), to acquaint us with this inexhaustible land. On the top floor, for example, one may visit the very cradle of civilization. Here, arranged on shelves, as if to demonstrate the varying layers of the excavations, stand pottery and utensils from Tepe Gawra, the world's oldest civilized site, dating from 4000 B. C. Again, on the first floor one whole room contains Luristan bronzes. Previously little known, these refer almost invariably to a pastoral stage in Persian development. They combine a refreshing strength with a curious friendliness toward all forms of animal life.

More sensational is the room devoted to the Achaemenid Empire and the Sasanian period. A huge black lion's paw comes from the wasted city of Persepolis; also parading warriors. Even earlier is a superb bearded king in

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bronze. He is accompanied by a meditative counselor, likewise in bronze. All are friendly. Even though showing traces of Assyrian and Egyptian influence, the barbarism of the one and the inhumanity of the other are absent. The Persian was always preeminently humane. His was a civilized art. Indeed, few animal sculptures have ever surpassed the so-called Laughing Horse which joyfully prances at one end of the room. Even in the later Sasanian period, particularly in the silver-relief plates, this sensitive relationship between man and beast prevails.

The Sasanian period ended with the Moslem conquest of 650 A. D. Then the Persian, always rising in defeat, assimilated the calligraphy of the conquerors and in time began to develop an art of the book. The room devoted to this development is one of the joys of the show. Early script is like bars of music. Then color ripens and the Shahnama, or Book of Kings, is produced. Finally Tamerlane is celebrated in illuminated manuscripts. Still later appears the master, Bihzad, picturing scenes of tumult, the military, or the court. His color has the richness of banners and the delicacy of bouquets. No less fastidious is the later Joseph Herding Goats.

By now the full emotion of the Persian registers itself in color. Moreover, the typical theme for poet or painter is the garden. It is his veritable Garden of Paradise. There he finds refuge from desert sun, or in imagination from the conqueror's heel. Indeed, it seems that the greater his oppression, the more sensitive and touching becomes his color, whether in manuscript paintings, in the famous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rugs, or in the celebrated pottery.

But always the Persian returned to the garden. Even the mosque seems less typical—the prayer altar, by the way, is not to be missed. This was the pattern of his life, this the peculiar joy of his hours, and the solace of his need. A gentle source indeed. Nevertheless, the Persian impressed himself on all his conquerors from Alexander to the Arab and the destructive Genghis Khan. Is there not a meaning in this for our own time? This is not the least of the reasons for the triumph of the exhibition now presented by Dr. Arthur Upham Pope and his devoted colleagues of the Iranian Institute of America.

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RECORDS

IT IS a mystery how a man who used his extraordinary command of the resources of his medium to produce those long-winded and absurd musical embodiments of infantile and muddled philosophic pretentiousness that one hears in the "Ring" tetralogy—to say nothing of such horrors as the Ride of the Valkyries—could have been the man who used it to produce things as miraculous as the Good Friday music of "Parsifal" or the Prelude to Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde." Columbia's delayed February record of the "Tristan" music (69805-D, $1.50) is at hand, with a performance by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Weingartner that I would like even more than I do if it were a little slower and in this way gave the music more emotional weight. To the last notes of the English horn solo Weingartner tacks on a concert ending made up of the opening measures of the piece and a concluding minor chord; and the effect is one that I do not like.

Also at hand are a few delayed March records of Columbia's. First the little set of Haydn's delightful Sonata in D (X-158, $2.50), which Ernst Victor Wolff plays on the piano with suitable sharpness and lightness in the fast movements and suitable breadth in the slow movement. Then the set of charming music by Boccherini which Françaix orchestrated colorfully, but with taste and a light hand, for the ballet "Scuola di Ballo," and which is well recorded by the London Philharmonic under Dorati (X-157, $3.50). I doubt that anyone would object to Vaughan Williams's treatment of the fine songs in his Suite, "English Folk Songs" (X-159, $2.50); but I, for one, dislike the pretentious variations which Weinberger has loaded on the song "Under the Spreading Chestnut Tree" (X-161, $4.50), brilliantly played and recorded by the Cleveland Orchestra under Rodzinski. Gordon Jacob's orchestration of Vaughan Williams's suite might be considered a little over-rich (the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony's performance under Barlow is good, but a little coarse in recorded sound); but the music from Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" in the new Victor set (M-647, $4.50) staggers under the flood of orchestral sonorities contrived for it by Cailliet, and the mountainous crescendos of the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy.

The first of Schumann's Three Romances for oboe and piano, Opus 94 (Columbia: X-160, $3.50), superbly played by Leon Goossens, I find very beautiful; the others have, for me, the feebleness of Schumann's late works. And I don't care much more for the Fantasiestücke, Opus 73 (69836-D, $1.50), well recorded by Piatigorsky.

Victor has issued the first of the three sets in which all the chorale preludes of Bach's "Orgelbüchlein" are to be recorded by E. Power Biggs on the Baroque Organ of the Germanic Museum, Harvard University. This set (M-652, $6.50) gives us Nos. 17 to 32, of which several of the finest—"Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin"; "Christus, der uns selig macht"; "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stand"; "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross"; "Christ lag in Todesbanden"; "Erscheinen ist der herrlich' Tag"—are included in the Columbia set of chorale preludes recorded by Schweitzer. The sound of the organ is clearer and more brilliant on the Biggs records; but Schweitzer allows the chorale to stand out clearly from the surrounding figuration, and takes the work at a pace suitable to its emotional content; whereas all that Biggs seems able to do is to rattle off the notes—sometimes the figuration louder than the chorale, sometimes a jumble of sounds in which nothing is clearly distinguished from anything else. It is, then, to Schweitzer's performances that a person unfamiliar with the works must turn to learn not only what they mean but what they are.

Broadcasting note: Throughout Toscanini's Debussy program and the Mozart symphony a week later one heard, together with Debussy and Mozart, the faint and inescapable tweet-tweet of a jazz band on an adjacent wave-length.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Corey Reconsidered

Dear Sirs: In his attacks on Marxism in recent issues of *The Nation* Lewis Corey succeeded in setting up quite a few strawmen, which thereupon he bravely laid by the heel. Space limitations obviously make it impossible to deal adequately here with his misrepresentations of Marxian principles. Pending a fuller treatment of the subject elsewhere at a later time, I desire to offer these comments, which represent the view of the Marxian Socialist Labor Party of America:

1. By Marxism we must understand the principles logically deduced from the scientific discoveries of Karl Marx. However Marxism may be enlarged or applied, the enlargement must be a logical and harmonious extension of the fundamental principle, and the application of it may not run counter to that fundamental principle. To the extent that there are failure and deviation in these respects, we no longer deal in Marxian principles. This is elementary. Hence, if what Mr. Corey calls "degeneration" of Marxism cannot be blamed on Marx, it follows that it is not Marxism that has degenerated, but the would-be Marxists.

2. Mr. Corey's fantastic "new middle class" is an old favorite of his. Historically, by "middle class" we understand the bourgeoisie, or the capitalist class before attaining complete supremacy in society. The group loosely referred to in the more recent past as the "middle class" *is* simply the middle and lower layers of the capitalist class. Mr. Corey's "new middle class" is discovered to be the middle and higher layers of the working class. Being paid a wage constitutes the mark of identification of a member of the working class. Whatever appearances to the contrary may seem to indicate, this "new middle class" has no separate class existence—no interests that are fundamentally different from, or opposed to, the general interests of the working class. On this simple fact Mr. Corey's carefully constructed "people's socialism" suffers shipwreck.

3. Mr. Corey insists that the state must be made to serve the "people" as a whole, and inferentially repudiates the Marxist concept of the state as a class organ. If the state is not essentially an organ of class oppression, then what is it? The modern state rests on force as undeniably as did the state in the past. What are the army, the navy, the police, and the other agencies of "law enforcement" but so many expressions of the state's function as an instrument of coercion, of *force*—and for what purpose? To plant trees, to build dams, to preserve wild life, to regulate Sunday schools? Rubbish. The force is there to protect national and sectional class interests—*propertied class interests.*

Mr. Corey's contrasting of his "people's socialism" with what he calls "traditional socialism" (reform socialism, or the Social Democracy) is illogical. They are substantially identical. Mr. Corey's "people's socialism" is, indeed, the very essence of utopianism, and there is nothing original about it. (*Vide* Proudhon and Lassalle's "The People's State.") Mr. Corey says that we cannot go "back to Marx." From his premises he is right. He is going farther back than Marx—back to the old utopian socialism of Fourier and the utopian anarchism of Proudhon.

4. When Mr. Corey assumes that the Marxian concept of "the proletariat as the final ruling class" necessarily implies the continuation of a "ruling class" in the sense of one class suppressing a lower class, he is ignoring the fact that in becoming the "ruling class" the proletariat thereby abolishes itself as a "class." ("If the proletariat triumphs, it does not thereby become the absolute side of society, for it triumphs only by abolishing itself and its opposite. In this way both the proletariat and its conditioned opposite, private property, are done away with."—Marx.) Socialism is the classless society—it is that, or it is nothing. Where *all* rule, none rules. The industrial administration of socialism can no more become a bureaucratic ruling caste than the director of an orchestra can arbitrarily impose his will upon the orchestra he directs. Marxian socialism demands, and inevitably implies, the discarding of the political state. ("Where its organizing activity begins, where its proper aim, its soul, emerges, there socialism casts away the political hull."—Marx.) The technological executive committee of the Socialist Industrial Union Government plays the role in the orchestra of production that the director plays in the orchestra producing musical harmonies. Soviet Russia, incidentally, furnishes no proof of the failure of Marxism. It furnishes proof of treason against Marxism.

Back to Marx? Serious and understanding Marxists need not go back to him, for they have never left him. On the contrary, every important event demonstrates the genius, the scientific soundness of Marx and Marxism. It is the playboys, the dealers in "radical" literary groceries, and the charlatans generally who need to be "reconsidered," and to be relegated to the roles commensurate with their understanding of social and economic science.

They have too long been traveling on false passports.

ARNOLD PETERSEN,
National Secretary, Socialist Labor Party
New York, April 20

Memo to Justice McGeehan

Dear Sirs: In a recent case decided January 17, 1940, and appearing in a legal publication (18 New York Supplement, 2d Series, page 335), Justice John E. McGeehan said:

> . . . To proceed ex parte in this matter and in utter disregard of well-established principles of law would be the result of the "hydraulic pressure" referred to by the late Mr. Justice Holmes in writing his opinion in the case of Northern Securities *vs.* United States . . . in which he states that "great cases are called great, not by reason of their real importance in shaping the law of the future, but because of some accident of immediate overwhelming interest which appeals to the feelings and distorts the judgment. These immediate interests exercise a kind of hydraulic pressure which makes what previously was clear seem doubtful, and before which even well-settled principles of law will bend."
>
> This court must refrain from riding roughshod over American rules, precedents, and traditions, even where such practice under the prevailing circumstances might meet with popular approval, since the advantage would be illusory and ephemeral and lend weight to the suspicion that hysteria has been permitted to find refuge in an American courtroom. The court recalls and reiterates in part the forceful and pertinent language of the late Mr. Chief Justice Cardozo . . . to the effect that "a community whose judges would be willing to give it whatever law might gratify the impulse of the moment would find in the end that it had paid too high a price."

Within a few short weeks this same learned Justice was the author of the

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Gandhi

and

LEWIS MUMFORD

praise

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LEWIS MUMFORD
in a letter to Hayim Greenberg, Editor JEWISH FRONTIER

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opinion in the Bertrand Russell case. What caused Justice McGeehan to ride roughshod over American rules, precedents, and traditions in depriving Professor Russell of his right to teach? Was he prompted by some hysteria engendered by forces behind the scenes? What was the source of the hydraulic pressure that caused this erudite jurist to abandon his previously dispassionate attitude?

The public is entitled to an answer to these questions. A. F. G.

New York, April 22

Frank Navarro's Story

Dear Sirs: Frank Navarro came to the United States legally in 1925. In 1929 he married an American citizen born in Puerto Rico. The couple have four children, all American-born citizens. In 1932 the Navarro family went to Spain in search of employment. After they arrived there the Franco revolt broke out and Navarro joined the government army. In 1937 the American consul in Spain had Navarro's wife and children transported back to the United States. Navarro could not return because he is not an American citizen.

Recently Navarro's wife tied to bring him back, but he was denied admission because she was on relief. A month ago Navarro secured a job as a member of the crew of the steamship Indaucho. In Port Richmond he left the ship and tried to get to New York to see his family. He was arrested in Philadelphia and was to have been sent back to Spain on March 31, but a petition for a writ of habeas corpus obtained by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born prevented his return.

Navarro, released on his own recognizance, is now in New York with his family. The Department of Labor has granted him three weeks' time in which to arrange for his departure from this country so that he can reenter legally on the basis of his wife's citizenship. This is the only way in which Navarro's deportation can be prevented and he can remain in this country.

The expenses involved come to about $200. We appeal to the readers of *The Nation* to send a contribution immediately to the Navarro Defense Fund, Room 1505, 79 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Their immediate financial support will help save this American family. CAREY MC WILLIAMS,

Chairman, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

New York, April 24

Books for Southern Workers

Dear Sirs: The Southern Summer School for Workers needs more books for its library. The Southern workers who apply to the school for reading matter are eager for knowledge. Many of them live in small communities where library facilities are notoriously inadequate. We ask readers of *The Nation* to help keep the minds of these Southern workers alive and stimulated.

The chief need is for books in the field of the social sciences and for fiction, drama, and poetry with social import. Please send books to the winter office of the Southern Summer School for Workers, 437 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York City, or if you live in the city send a card asking that the books be called for. RITA S. HILBORN,

Chairman, Library Committee

New York, April 16

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE DAVIS is a member of the Institute of International Studies at Yale University. He has recently published "A Navy Second to None."

ROSE M. STEIN is a Pittsburgh journalist covering chiefly labor news.

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI is the author of "War Without Violence." He was Gandhi's companion on the famous "march to the sea."

ROBERT DELL, Geneva correspondent of *The Nation* and the Manchester *Guardian,* is now lecturing in this country.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, a former editor of *Poetry,* is the author of "Literary Opinion in America."

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY, chief of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, is the author of "The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities Under the Soviets."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER is a regular reviewer for *The Nation* and dramatic editor of *Time.*

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THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is idexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

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